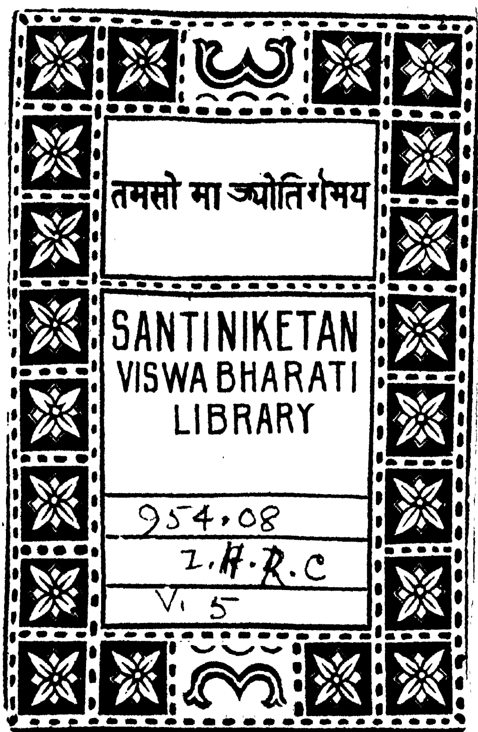

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INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION

PROCEEDINGS

OF

MEETINGS

VOL. V

FIFTH MEETING HELD AT CALCUTTA

JANUARY 1923



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CONTENTS.

Proceedings of the Fifth Meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Calcutta in January 1923.

The fifth meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission was held in the Hall of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, at No 1, Park Street, Calcutta, on the 12th January 1923. An exhibition of documents, paintings and other objects of historical interest obtained from Government archives, public institutions and private individuals was also held in connection with the meeting. The proceedings were opened by His Excellency the Governor of Bengal at 10 a.m. in the presence of a large and distinguished gathering. The Hon'ble Mr M. S. D. Butler, C.B., C.I.E., C.V.O., C.B.E., I.C.S., the *ex-officio* President, and Mr J. J. Cotton, I.C.S., Member of the Commission, were unavoidably absent. The following members were present:—

MEMBERS:

The Hon'ble Mr H. E. A. Cotton, C.I.E.
Professor L. F. Rushbrook Williams, M.A., O.B.E.
,, Jadunath Sarkar, M.A., I.E.S., Bihar and Orissa.
,, B. K. Thakore, B.A., Deccan College, Poona.
Mr P. Dias, Keeper of Records, Bengal.
,, A. F. M. Abdul Ali, M.A., F.R.S.L., Keeper of the Records of the Government of India (Secretary).

The following co-opted members were also present:—

Mr R. B. Ramsbotham, M.A., M.B.E., Principal, Hooghly College.
,, Badruddin Ahmad, B.A., Keeper of Records, High Court, Calcutta.
,, P. C. Nahar, M.A., B.L., Vakil, High Court, Calcutta.
,, R. K. Ranadive, M.A., } representing the Baroda State.
,, J. M. Mehta, }

Professors S. A. Khan, M.A., LITT. D., Beni Prasad, M.A., and Ramprasad Tripathi, M.A., of the Allahabad University, and Professor J. N. Samaddar, B.A., F.R.E.S., of the Patna University, were present by special invitation.

Speech of His Excellency Lord Lytton

In opening the proceedings His Excellency said:—

"GENTLEMEN,

I am delighted to have this opportunity of welcoming the Indian Historical Commission on this their first visit to Calcutta.

In Calcutta, we are fortunate in having not only the Bengal Historical Record Room, but also the Imperial Record Office, and these contain all the historical records of the East India Company's Government other than those dealt with by the Madras and Bombay Governments up to the year 1858.

A short reference to the early history of Bengal will enable you to realize the wealth of material for historical research which is to be found in Calcutta.

In 1773, the Government of Bengal was given controlling authority over the other Presidencies, and the Governor of Bengal was designated Governor-General. In 1834, he became Governor-General of India. At the same time the local Governorship of Bengal was created and the proceedings relating to both Imperial and local concerns came to be recorded in separate series, although up to 1843 there continued to be one Secretariat for the two Governments. When this division took place, not only were the local records transferred to the Government of Bengal, but also the whole of the Revenue and Judicial records of the Governor-General down to 1834, as they dealt with details of administration which were primarily that Government's concern.

Our Bengal Historical Record Room has thus a wealth of valuable historical information. In fact, James Grant Duff goes so far as to say that the Records of the East India Company's Government in India are probably the best historical material in the world. The reasons for this are suggested by Mr Foster, Superintendent of Records at the India Office, to be as follows:—

> "The distance separating the Company from its servants in the East, and the jealous care with which it supervised their actions, necessitated full explanations by correspondence; while the system of administration in the Company's settlements and territories, which from the first took the form of a Council, also favoured a full disclosure of the motives underlying every decision of importance. In its final development proposals were largely made in written minutes, which often, in controversial questions, provoked equally argumentative minutes of dissent; and these were entered at full length upon the records of the Council meetings termed—consultations or proceedings."

About 31 years ago, the Imperial Record Department was created. Before that, in spite of the recommendations of the Record Commission of 1861, the different departments of the Government of India and the Local

Government kept their own records, with the result that they were scattered in inconvenient and unsuitable repositories, and were not readily available for systematic research. I do not think that anyone will doubt the wisdom of the authorities in finally deciding in 1891 to establish a General Record Office for the custody and preservation of the old records of all the departments of the Government of India, and I understand that during the short period the Imperial Record Office has been in existence, much has been accomplished in the direction of classifying, arranging, listing and preserving the records—an essential preliminary, if these valuable documents are to be made accessible to the public. Substantial progress has been made with the preparation of press lists and calendars, a complete set of which is on view at the meeting. It is expected that a handbook to the records in the Imperial Record Department will shortly be published.

It may not, perhaps, be generally known that men like Sir George Forrest, the late Mr A. T. Pringle, Mr S. C. Hill, author of "Bengal in 1756," the late Dr C. R. Wilson, author of "Early Annals of the English in Bengal" and Sir Denison Ross, who have made their name in the field of Indian education and research, were, at one time or other, Keepers of the Imperial Records, and that materials for some of their best works were drawn chiefly from these records.

Now let me turn to the Bengal Historical Record Room of which I can speak with more authority.

I have already suggested that the history of Bengal indicates the value of the material which we have in our Record Room, and I am glad to say that during the past 15 years increasing attention has been paid to them. At one time there was a proposal to amalgamate the old records of this Government and of the Government of India in a Central Record Office, but the transfer of the capital to Delhi fortunately disposed of this proposal. I say "fortunately," because I believe that such a proposal would have resulted in a loss of local interest and local knowledge. This matter having been decided, the Local Government established its Historical Record Room, which contains the records of Government and of the Board of Revenue down to the end of 1858. Although the establishment of this room dates from 1912 only, very considerable progress has been made. The records consisting of over 10,000 bundles and 11,000 volumes have been repaired, sorted and classified; and a catalogue of them was published last year. Work has also been undertaken on the earliest records dating from the 18th century, so as to make them known to historical students. Abstracts of some have been published, while others, including the records of several districts, have been printed *in extenso*. The proceedings of the Controlling Council of Revenue at Murshidabad, which contain valuable information about Bengal at the time when the British began to administer the country, are now being published, and a volume of the Chittagong District Records for

1760-1773 will appear shortly. I understand that copies of the Record Room's publications are also on view at the meeting.

In both Record Departments there is a wealth of material awaiting investigation by those interested. The Indian Historical Records Commission was constituted in 1919 by the Government of India, who were anxious to make the official records in India more accessible to students of history, and to remove any obstacles there might be to research. The Commission was constituted as a permanent body of expert advisers, and it is in accordance with their advice and in order to make the records more accessible to the public, that the two Record Rooms have been classifying, indexing and printing the old archives. Rules have been adopted to give facilities of access to the records, and the publications are distributed to societies, colleges and persons interested in the subject.

Here in Bengal we owe a great debt of gratitude to Archdeacon Firminger, who was a member of the Commission and whose retirement from India in 1921 is a serious loss to historical research here. His zeal and labour were of inestimable value in contributing to our knowledge of Calcutta and of old Bengal generally, and he gave to the public the results of his researches in "Bengal Past and Present," the journal of the Calcutta Historical Society.

This society aims at fostering the study of old Bengal and particularly of old Calcutta, and I am delighted that it has been recently revived under the stimulus of Mr Cotton, who, I am glad to see, has been made a member of the Commission and will preside over your proceedings. I feel sure that Mr Cotton will come forward to carry on the work to which Archdeacon Firminger devoted himself with such enthusiasm, and in which Mr Cotton himself was so interested while he was in Calcutta many years ago—an interest which he sustained during his absence in England.

What a vast mass of material there must be in these two Record Rooms and what opportunities there are for adding to our knowledge of old Calcutta and Bengal. I am confident that in this great city our learned institutions, such as the Asiatic Society, the Historical Society, the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad and all its colleges, will make the most of the material and will sift out what is valuable and make it available for the general public.

The Commission is here to advise us and I hope that those who are interested in the history of old India will take advantage of their presence and deliberations to obtain guidance in any research work they may be willing to undertake.

The papers which will be read at this meeting form an interesting programme and include many that should be of special concern to Bengal. Amongst them, I note, "The last Will and Testament of Mr G. F. Grand," and I have no doubt that Mr J. J. Cotton has much to say that will throw light on certain incidents at the end of the 18th century. Mr Moreno

and Mr Nahar's papers on Anglo-Indian origin and the genealogy of the Jagat Seths of Murshidabad, will give us more knowledge of particular families; while Mr Ramsbotham's papers on the Revenue Collections in Bengal and Mr Badruddin Ahmad's on the old Judicial Records of the High Court will enable us to draw an interesting comparison between the Revenue and Judicial administrations of earlier generations with those of to-day.

An exhibition of old historical manuscripts and paintings is now held in connection with the annual session of the Commission, and in the list of exhibits collected for the present session, you will find a number of interesting documents from Government archives, public institutions and individuals.

In conclusion, I should like to assure the Commission that we heartily welcome their presence here, and wish their deliberations all success."

Speech of the Hon'ble Mr H. E. A. Cotton

In thanking His Excellency the Hon'ble Mr Cotton said as follows:—

"YOUR EXCELLENCY AND GENTLEMEN—

Mr Montagu Butler, Secretary to the Government of India in the Education Department, who is *ex-officio* President of the Commission, is unable to be present to-day. He has asked me to express his regret at his absence and to thank Your Excellency for your kindness in coming here this morning to declare the meeting of the Commission open. Although this is the first time the Commission has met in Calcutta the present session is the fifth in succession and we esteem ourselves fortunate that we are meeting here in Calcutta under the governorship of one who takes so keen and so enlightened an interest in historical research as yourself. It is a very great pleasure to us all to assemble here this morning under your presidency and I have again to thank Your Excellency very heartily for your kindness in coming here to-day. Thanks to the ability and energy of Mr A. F. M. Abdul Ali, the Secretary of the Commission, and his Superintendent, Mr K. Bose, and the staff of the department, a most interesting and valuable collection has been assembled here this morning. I hope that Your Excellency will permit me to show you some of the valuable treasures that are being exhibited here. The exhibition will be open to the public to-morrow morning and on Sunday and if there is sufficient demand I have no doubt that Mr A. F. M. Abdul Ali will arrange to have it open one or two days more. I wish to assure everyone present here that the exhibition is very well worth visiting and you cannot spend a spare hour more profitably than in going round and examining the valuable paintings and documents we have assembled here. We are able here in Calcutta to offer to the student of Indian history a far greater wealth of material than perhaps any other town or capital in India. As Your Excellency has explained, the circum-

stances of the early history of Bengal and its close connection with the Supreme Government have enabled us to accumulate here a mass of documentary evidence which it is impossible to find elsewhere, even in the India Office where Mr Foster presides with such loving care over the records of the Company. Besides the materials in the Record Department of the Government of India and of the Government of Bengal we have the Asiatic Society, the Indian Museum, the High Court where Mr Edgley, the Registrar, and Mr Badruddin Ahmad, his assistant, are hard at work cataloguing and last but not least the Victoria Memorial Hall, so that Calcutta has sufficiently established a claim to be the paradise of the student of Indian History. I thank Your Excellency very much on behalf of the Commission for your kindness in coming here to-day."

His Excellency then opened the Exhibition and spent some time examining the various exhibits with great interest. A complete list of the exhibits will be found in Appendix C.

After His Excellency had left, the Secretary proposed the Hon'ble Mr Cotton to the Chair. Papers on historical subjects were then read. The more important papers were read in full. Only summaries of the other papers were allowed to be read. The whole of a rather lengthy programme was thus got through in one day.

It was originally intended to keep the Exhibition open to the public for 2 days only, *viz.*, the 13th and 14th January, but in response to numerous requests it had to be kept open till the 19th January. On the morning of the 20th January Her Excellency the Countess of Lytton and a party from Government House paid a private visit to the Exhibition. The Exhibition was daily visited by a very large number of persons among whom were noticed the Hon'ble the Chief Justice of Bengal, the President of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, Dr and Mrs Dunn, Mr and Mrs Percy Brown, the Hon'ble Mr H. L. Stephenson, Sir R. Watson-Smyth, Mrs and Miss Cotton, Mrs David Ezra and many others. Facilities were given to students of history to take down notes from the historical documents exhibited.

The affairs of the English Factory at Surat, 1694-1700 (from original Persian records).

(By Professor Jadunath Sarkar, M.A., I.E.S.)

All the trade settlements of the English East India Company, in Bengal, Madras and Western India alike, got into trouble and came into collision with the imperial Government of Delhi, in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. In Bengal there was actually armed conflict between them (1686-87), in consequence of which the English traders had to evacuate the

province. But this military success of the Mughal Government was financially ruinous to it, and, therefore, its local governor invited the English to come back and resume their trade which was so profitable to him. In the end, before the century wore out, the English traders secured, what Hedges[1] had long ago discerned to be supremely necessary, namely, a fortified settlement which could afford their servants and property a safe refuge from the invasion or rebellion raging outside and the illegal exactions of the local officials.

The factory of Madras was never actually attacked though it was once threatened with assault and sack by Zulfiqar Khan, the imperial general in the Karnatak, for its refusal to give him a war loan of four lakhs[2] of rupees (1696). Fort St. David was, no doubt, attacked (January 1698) by one of his subordinates (Salim Khan), but without his orders. Madras-town made enormous profit in this decade; its custom revenue was popularly believed to be four lakhs of rupees a year, so that the President had to order that the Company's real wealth should be kept hidden from the Indians by henceforth writing all the accounts of the Company's commercial transactions and revenue collection in English only and forbidding every Indian clerk (*kanak-pillai*) to keep accounts of any transaction with which he was not personally concerned.

The fortified settlements of the Europeans on the Madras coast also grew in population and wealth, as they afforded the only safe refuge to rich Indians during the long and desolating war between the Mughals and the Marathas for the possession of the Karnatak, or what is popularly known as the siege of Jinji (1690-1698). For example, the population of Pondicherry doubled in one year. But this war, by devastating and disturbing the villages and making the roads unsafe, almost killed the textile industry of the East Coast, and made it extremely difficult for the Europeans to secure sufficient local goods for export home.[3] The Madras Council, during this decade, had to pass a most anxious time; but it succeeded, with great tact and no little good fortune, in steering a middle path of safety between Mughal and Maratha violence and extortion.

It was the Surat factory, however, that suffered most during the closing years of the seventeenth century. Its position made it most vulnerable to the wrath of the Mughal Government. But its difficulties were, also, to a great extent unconnected with that Government; trade was slack, the Company's credit sank low on account of its heavy debts to the Indian dealers, while it had no money within sight to meet these calls. To complete its misfortune, first the interlopers and then the rival New Company lowered the prestige and impaired the finances of the Old Company. The French factory at Surat was, at this time, almost ruined by dull trade and want of money.

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[1] Wilson's *Early Annals*, i. 88.
[2] *Fort St. George Diary and Consultation Books*, 30 Oct. 1696.
[3] Kaeppelin.

But the chief harm to the English, and indeed to all the European traders (though in different degrees), resulted from the reaction against European piracy in the Indian Ocean. At this time many bold and enterprising pirates, mostly English or American by race, though criminals against the laws of their own countries, infested the Indian Ocean and made great havoc in our trade with Persia, Arabia and Zanzibar, and they did not always spare the shipping of the English East India Company.

In September 1695, when the news reached Surat that a large pirate vessel of 46 guns, displaying English colours, had plundered a ship belonging to Abdul Ghafur Borah, the richest merchant of the place, popular fury was roused against all the Englishmen in that town, both the Company's servants and the Interlopers. The governor (Itimad Khan), who was friendly to the foreigners, had to place a guard on the Company's warehouse to prevent its being sacked and its servants being massacred by the Muslim mob. Soon afterwards, news arrived that the same pirate had attacked the *Ganj-i-sawai*, a large ship belonging to the Mughal Emperor, plundered and ill-treated the Hajis (Mecca pilgrims) and outraged the women on board. This act was taken in the light of an insult to the Muhammadan faith and the popular resentment became uncontrollable. The governor of Surat very wisely put the English (both at Surat and Broach) in irons, to "prevent their being torn to pieces by the mob." Sixty-three Englishmen were thus confined at Surat and the Swally Marine, President Annesley and his Council being of the number. They were released on 27th June 1696, after ten months' captivity. The same calamity again befell them on 2nd January 1699, in consequence of another piracy, the victim Abdul Ghafur having denounced "the hat-men"[1] of being the priates. Again, on 9th February 1701, Sir John Gayer was seized under orders of Aurangzib and detained in captivity with more or less rigour till 1707.

All these troubles could have been avoided and an amicable settlement made with the Delhi Government, if the European nations that traded in India could have come to some agreement with the Emperor as to their remuneration for policing the Indian Ocean and organized some concerted action against the pirates. But the escort-hire offered by the Emperor was too niggardly; the Dutch plotted against the English at the Court of the Surat governor; the English themselves were a house divided against itself, as the New Company's agents shamelessly tried to run the Old Company down by false accusations, while the Old Company tried to induce the Mughal Government to arrest the servants of the New Company and deliver them up to them as offenders against the British sovereign.

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[1] "Abdul Ghafur has written [to the Emperor] the hat-men were pirates" (From Surat to Bombay, 6 Jan. 1698. Also Madras Diary, 8 Nov. 1695). The word *hat-men* is a literal translation of *Kulla-posh*, the Persian term for designating Europeans, who wore high rigid hats as distinct from the long loose turbans which the Indians tie round their heads.

Such, briefly, was the history of the Surat factory in this decade as already known to us. The subject has been treated in detail in published works like J. Biddulph's *Pirates of Malabar* (1907) and Arnold Wright's *Annesley of Surat and his Times* (1918) and in a briefer form in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, (1st ed., Vol. II, pp. 99—100, XXVI, pt. I, pp. 111—124) and the dry *Annals* of Bruce (1810). But the writers of these works have utilized the English records only. Hence, they have failed to take note of the other side of the case and to describe the attitude and views of the Mughal Government from first-hand knowledge. In order to do the latter, we must turn to Persian sources, of which three are extant, namely—

(*i*) The Persian letter-book of the Surat factory for 1695-1696, now in the India Office, London. It contains 113 letters, and is a manuscript of 129 pages with 15 lines to the page (with some variations in the number of lines and some blank leaves interspersed). It is No. 370 of Ethe's *Catalogue.*

(*ii*) A manuscript entitled *Kalimat-i-Tayyibat*, containing short notes and hints dictated by Aurangzib to his Secretary Inayetullah Khan to be expanded into formal letters and addressed to various public servants. These belong to the years 1700-1705. Here we get an inside view of the Mughal Emperor's thoughts and wishes. My manuscript of it contains 297 pages of 13 lines each.

(*iii*) News-letters or bulletins of the daily *darbar* of Aurangzib, entitled *Akhbarat-i-darbar-i-muala*. (Tod manuscript, preserved in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain.)

These give summaries of the despatches and news-letters received at Court and the orders used by the Emperor, so far as they were made public, as well as the presentations and other occurrences at Court. There are, in them, occasional references to the English, such as the visit of Sir Willian Norris, but no narrative of the dealings and negotiations with them. On the whole, the references are too brief to be of much use to us.

A study of these State-papers of the Mughal Government side by side with the English factory records of Surat and Madras during the last decade of the seventeenth century, establishes the general correctness of the latter, but supplies many additional details and illustrations of the history of the Surat factory as already known to us. From these State-papers alone can we learn the Emperor's innermost thoughts, the counsels of his ministers, and the Indian point of view, which the Court agents of the English merchants often merely guessed at.

The Emperor's one thought was how to secure the freedom of the ocean highway to Mecca and Medina. As he tells his Secretary,

"Let the Superintendent of Ordnance (*Mir Atash*) ask of the Feringis of the artillery department, how the pirates can be chastised and the sea-route kept open for travellers to the Holy Cities and for traders,—whether by friendliness and conciliation, or by force and battle." And, again, "Write to Amanat Khan [customs collector of Surat] to exert himself to the utmost limit of possibility to safeguard the way of pilgrims (*Hajis*) travellers and couriers to the Holy Cities. There is no union among the Feringis; any of them are without a head or chieftain. Try to secure the support of one tribe among them, such as the French, who in consideration of their receiving a tenth of the custom-duty [of Surat] may agree to punish the hat-men pirates." (*Kalimat*, letters 138 and 332.)*

The Persian letter-book of the Surat factory is analysed at the end of this paper. From it we learn that the Dutch, in order to supplant the English in the Emperor's good opinion or make the case against them worse, readily signed undertakings to supply an escorting ship to the Indian pilgrim-vessels going to Mecca. [No. 1, undertaking signed by the Director of the Dutch Company at Surat, dated 25th December 1696; No. 28, bond (*muchilka*), signed by the Commissar and Director of the Dutch, dated 19th October; No. 36, letter from the last two.]

During his captivity Annesley with tireless activity sent off letters to the Surat governor (33 in number), to Dianat Rai, his agent at the Mughal Court (3 letters), to Isa Quli Armenian (11 letters), to an [Armenian] Christian priest in Aurangzib's Camp (4 letters), to the Emperor (2 letters) to the grand wazir Asad Khan (one letter), and to some other persons, protesting the innocence of the English Company's servants and demanding the release of the inmates of the Surat factory. Sir John Gayer, the Governor of Bombay, was equally active: he wrote two letters to Itimad Khan, two to Mirza Muhammad Zahid, and one to the Emperor. In them the English constantly appealed for justice, asserting that they were "merchants, and not pirates "† and reminding the Mughal Government of its long and friendly protection of the English traders in India ever since the days of Jahangir.

While the Surat prisoners were thus struggling for their liberty, there was a little by-play which introduced a comic element into the tragic situation. Dianat Rai was the agent (*wakil*) of the English Company at the Mughal Court. His salary and embassy expenses (including the customary payments to the noble who introduced him and presents to influential officers close to the Emperor's person) had long been in arrears. The Surat factory was in great financial difficulty at this time, and Dianat Rai's dues remained unpaid, in spite of repeated promises from the Surat Council that money was going

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* It is interesting to learn that the negotiations with the English who visited his camp were conducted through Mutamad Khan "who knows their language" and Inayetullah, the surgeon, "who has great influence over the Feringis of this place," *i.e.*, the imperial camp. [*Kal.* 20.]

† *Az roz-i-awwal ba-bang-i-buland migucm keh dozd naem. sawdagaraem.*

to be sent him. So, when the Surat factors were imprisoned and wrote to him to urge the Emperor for an order for their release, the agent saw in it a good opportunity for putting pressure on them and getting his dues paid at last. In reply to Annesley's letter commanding him to lay his petition before the Court formally and to influence the grand wazir on their behalf, Dianat Rai wrote back demanding the payment of his arrears and the supply of more money for buying the good offices of influential nobles, telling his masters plainly that without money nothing could be done there and that the violence of the Emperor's anger against the English necessitated very heavy douceurs to his favourites before they would agree to approach him in favour of the sacrilegious English.

Annesley's reply was a prompt and stern reprimand,—" You have acted very wickedly " (*besiar bad karded*), accompanied by the dismissal of Dianat Rai and the appointment of an Armenian, Isa Quli, as the English agent in Aurangzib's camp in his place.

Contents of the Persian letter-book of Surat Factory.

(Letters not relating to India and a few others unconnected with Surat have been omitted from the following list. The numbers are the serial numbers of the letters counting from the beginning of the volume. The three parts of letter 32 have been numbered by me separately as 32, 33 and 34; they may be counted as one, and in that case all numbers from 35 onwards should be reduced by two.)

Sir John Gayer to Annesley, 8 (21 September 1694), 9 (30 September), Annesley to Gayer, 10 (24 October 1695).

Gayer to Itimad Khan, 12 (19 April 1696), 91. Itimad Khan to Gayer, 14 and 24.

33 letters of Annesley to Itimad Khan :—

37 (6 March 1695).
38 (1 April).
39 (15 October).
40 (5 June).
41, 42, 43 } complaints against the Dutch.
44 (7 November).
45 (15 September).
46 (20 September).
47 (30 September).
48 (12 December).
49 (13 December).
50 (10 May 1696).
51 (15 April).
52 (6 March).
53 (8 March).
54 (28 March).
55 (15 April).
56 (30 April).
57 (13 May).
58 (16 June).

59 (3 May).
60 (14 July).
61 (30 July).
62 (12 January).
63 (24 January).
64 (8 August).
107 (7 October).
109 (24 October).
110 (26 October).
112 (3 November).
113 (5 November).

Itimad Khan to Annesley, 15.

Annesley to Dianat Rai, 65 (23 July 1695), 66 (20 September), 67 (10 November. Censure).

Annesley to Emperor, 96 (16 September 1695), 97 (20 September).

Gayer to Emperor, 98.

Annesley to Asad Khan, 99 (16 September 1695).

Annesley to the Emperor's Qazi, 100 (16 September 1695).

Annesley to Isa Quli Armenian, his agent at Court:—

68 (16 September 1695).
69 (21 September).
70 (24 October).
71 (25 October).
72 (10 November).
73 (23 November).
74 (28 December).
75 (10 January 1696, very long).
76 (4 March).
77 (7 March).
78 (27 March).

Annesley to a *Padri* at Court:—

79 (7 March 1696).
80 (28 June).
81 (25 March).
102 (18 September).

Sir J. Gayer to Mirza Muhammad Zahid, 20 (3 September 1696) and 22 (18 September).

Itimad Khan's memorial to Asad Khan, 11 (conditions imposed by the Emperor on the English).

Itimad Khan to Yar Ali Beg, 26 (7 September 1695) reporting the piracy on the *Ganj-i-sawai* and the *Fath Muhammadi*.

Letter by Order (*hasb-ul-hukm*) from Asad Khan to Itimad Khan, 16 and 19 (27 December 1695).

Letter from Fazil Khan to Itimad Khan, 29 (5 October 1695).

Parwana of Asad Khan to Itimad Khan, 17 (26 February 1696).

News-letter (*waqia*) sent by Mirza Muhammad Mumin, the *bakhshi* and reporter of Surat, to Court, on the piracy, 32-34.

Letter of Annesley to M. M. Mumin, 95 (11 November 1695).

Dutch Company to Itimad Khan, 1 (25 December 1696), 28 (19 October), 36.

Itimad Khan to Dutch Commander, 35.

Purser of English ship *Benjamin* to Itimad Khan, quoting rates for escort vessels, 13.

Husain Hamidan, merchant of Jidda, agrees not to hold the English East India Company responsible for any attack on his ship, as the pirates falsely displayed English colours, 2 (24 March 1696).

Annesley to Ashur Beg, 86 (27 July 1695).

Annesley to Aqa Daud, 92 (7 April 1696), 93 (21 June) and 94 (17 April).

Draft agreement submitted by Annesley to Itimad Khan, 101 (26 December 1696).

Annesley's receipt for Rs. 2,72,100 deposited with Itimad Khan's servant Ashur Beg and now returned, 106 (10 July 1696).

Diwan of Cambay invites the Surat President to open an English factory (*Kothi*) in Cambay, 25 (October 1696).

Annesley to Mir Muhammad Sadiq, diwan of Cambay, 82 (9 May 1695) and 83 (8 August 1696).

Annesley to Mirza Muhasan, diwan of Cambay, 108 (12 October 1696).

Captain of the *Muhammad Ibrahim* (a passenger in the *Ganj-i-sawai*) to Itimad Khan, 27.

Shaikh Ahmad's complaint to the Emperor *re* the piracy on the *Ganj-i-sawai*, 31.

Letter from Siddi Yaqut's agent at Court, 30.

From Aqa Piri, son of Khwaja Fanus, merchant of Julfa, lessee of the *Quedah Merchant*, 21 (7 August 1696).

Report from the *thanadar* of [gap in text] to Krishnaji that the thieves who stole Mr Robertson's boxes have been arrested, with list of the things recovered, 6 (14 August 1695), and 105

The Last Will and Testament of Mr. G. F. Grand.*

(By J J Cotton, M.A , I.C.S , District and Sessions Judge, Coimbatore.)

Readers of Dr Busteed's delightful "Echoes from Old Calcutta" will remember that the fate of Mr Grand is left indeterminate. We last hear of him there as Inspector of Woods and Lands at the Cape of Good Hope, and in 1812 Sir James Mackintosh records in his Memoirs that on his journey home from Bombay his ship put in at the Cape where he met Mr. Grand at the African Club. In 1815, the anonymous author of a book entitled "Sketches of India, etc.," speaks of meeting Mr. Grand who poured out his woes to a sympathetic listener. "I found him the gentleman and much esteemed.".

From the Cape Town *Gazette* of January 22nd, 1820, we learn of his death. "17th January. At 11 o'clock in the night of the 17th Instant George Francis Grand, Esq., aged 71, a Gentleman, who, to the termination

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* Mr. J. J. Cotton being absent his paper was read by the Hon'ble Mr. H. E. A. Cotton.

of a long life, chequered with vicissitudes, under which ordinary minds would have sunk, retained the active feelings of good will, and the elastic cheerfulness, which belong to youth and prosperity. Hospitable, while he possessed means, always gentlemanlike and agreeable, Mr. Grand will be long regretted by those who had the pleasure of his acquaintance."

The same issue contains the following obituary notice:—"Died on the 17th instant at 11 at night George Francis Grand, Esq., aged 71. A loss his widow cannot announce to relatives and friends but with the deepest and most unaffected sorrow, Cape Town, 19th January 1820. E. S. P. Grand born Bergh." (This is repeated in Dutch.)

The widow's name was Egberta Sophia Petronella, baptised 23rd September 1781, eldest daughter of Egbertus Bergh and Adriana Sophia van Reede of Oudtshoorn. The original Bergh was Olof Bergh of Gotherberg, Military Captain in the Dutch East India Company's service, who came to South Africa about the year 1680 and married Anna de Koningh (see Geslacht—Register der Oude Kaapsche Familier—Kaapstad 1893).

The Will is to be found in a copy in the Master's Office 81 $\frac{225 \text{ to } 229}{1820}$. The last Will of George François Grand is dated 18th August 1818 and the notarial execution thereof Wednesday, 7th October of the same year; and it is what is called a "closed will," the document being sealed up together with annexures and deposited with the notary on the last named date. The Testator "being confined to bed from Illness of body, though, thank God, perfectly sound in mind," appoints his beloved wife Egberta Sophia Petronella Grand born Bergh "sole heiress and executrix to all my personal and real property and what may devolve to me from the amount in the stocks of England which my sister Mrs. Bell may leave, charging my said wife only to pay out of it four hundred pounds sterling to Mr. Francis Corevon of Yverdun, Canton of Vaud, in Switzerland, Greffier, or to his Heirs, Executors or Assigns."

The Codicil is dated 27th August 1818: "As it has pleased God to give me more strength of Body than I had on that day, I enter now more largely into the particulars which guide me on that occasion." After the discharge of the abovementioned sum of £400, "whatever remaineth is exclusively my wife's to enjoy the interest thereof during her life," the corpus "to the children of my nephew Mr. Corevon in equal portions." Mrs. Bell's money in the English stocks was relinquished to her by her brothers (including the testator). The testator desires it all to go, on Mrs. Bell's death, to his widow and confides that Mrs. Bell will dispose of it accordingly.

The testator refers to the insanity of his unfortunate son, Major George Robert Grand of the Madras Establishment. The testator charges "Oloff Bergh, LL.D., my wife's brother, Mr. George Thomas, my agents, as well as Mr. Egbertus Bergh, my wife's father, should he survive me, to employ all his and their interest both in Holland and England to obtain some

remuneration to my large claims on the East India Company (*vide* Narrative)."
N.B.—No Narrative is annexed to the Will.

"Finally I request my first wife, since the Princess of Talleyrand, to extend a portion of the annuity which out of consideration and regard for my conduct towards her during my Prosperous Career in Life she tendered in my adversity, *viz.*, as is comprised in my Narrative, a handsome pension for life to enjoy when I pleased, I entreat her with my last Breath to allow half the said amount to my present and second wife during her Life and in assurance of the sentiments and goodness which during a happy time I experienced with my first wife that she was blessed with, I comfort myself whilst still living that my Prayer and Intreaty to Her will not have been made in vain."

There are annexures to the Will. "A" is a Memorandum as follows:—
"That I was not a bad unfeeling Brother nor an indisposed son when the means were afforded me.......... ....I paid all my mother's and sister's expenses in bringing them from Switzerland to Beverley in Yorkshire in the year 1775......I gave my sisters Elizabeth and Jennie sums of money. I helped my sister Susan, the late Mrs. Ledlie, to procure her Indian outfit." (The Narrative mentions on page 57 that "the old lady my mother" made her election of Beverley in Yorkshire for her future residence.)

Annexure B is a letter in French from his first wife, dated 14th October 1800.

le 14 Octobre.

Précis: I have obtained a divorce d'après les loix du Pays ou j'avais pris mon domicile. The decree is dated 18 germinal an 6, soir du 8 avril 1798. This releases me, but does it release you in England? I will take all necessary steps.

Ce n'est pas sans regret que je vous communique ma détermination tout à fait irrevocable, mais j'aime à espérer que vous rendrez justice à ces Regrets Comme à tous les sentimens que je conserverai pour vous.

N. C. Worlée

in dorso docketed: In answer to my letter of June 1800 on the subject of a divorce.

Annexure "C" is an earlier letter from the same lady, dated 10th June, the year being evidently 1800.

le 10 Juin.

On m'a remis, Monsieur, une lettre de vous et son duplicata à laquelle je puis répondre mieux que personne, vous demandez s'il est vrai que je sois remariée. Je dois vous declarer que je ne le suis pas. J'ai appris avec plaisir par Mr. Archdekin que vous étiez arrivé en Europe en bonne santé. Je vous souhaite toute sorte de bonheur. Je vous prie de dire à Mr. Archde-

kin que je lui répondrai lorsque la personne de qui depend ce q'il désire sera ici.

N. C. Worlée-Grand.

N.B.—This message was to intimate to Mr. Archdekin that so soon as Bonaparte returned to Paris application would be made by her to him for a passport to enable Archdekin to visit the south of France, Nice, for the benefit of his health.

Nothing seems to be known of Mr. Archdekin except his participation in the events of the 8th December 1778, when the Narrative records "I beheld with astonishment the present Sir George Shee bound to a chair and endeavouring to obtain from my servants his release with Mr. Shore, now Lord Teignmouth and the late Mr. Archdekin, companions to him, joining in the same prayer and entreaty." This would indicate that he had died before 1808, when according to the advertisement the Narrative was brought to a close.

Annexure "D" is a brief letter dated Southampton, 26th October 1814. "My dear Brother, Sister Jane is insane in an asylum at Bedford. She is a great expense, etc. (Signed) E. Bell."

Certain additional information is obtained from Calendars, etc., in the Public Library, Capetown. In 1805 his name appears as Consulting Councillor or Raad Consulent in the Governorship of Jan Willem Janssens. On the 5th of April 1806 after the Cape of Good Hope had been taken over by the British, Mr. G. F. Grand was appointed Inspector of Government Woods and Lands in the room of Mr. G. H. Cloete who had resigned the post, Grand being described as late Counsellor Extraordinary to the Batavian Government. His name figures in the African Court Calendar for the year 1807. In the next Calendar this office of Inspector is held by J. P. Baumgardt, Esq. The first Directory appears in the African Court Calendar for 1812. In that year and continuously up to 1820 the entry is

George François Grand 29 Heeregragt.

Heerengracht is now Adderley Street, the principal Commercial thoroughfare in Capetown.

It may be as well here to dispel the statement which Dr. Busteed found in the British Museum Copy of the Narrative written in a senile hand signed Jno Row that the annexed Narrative was the first book printed in English at the Cape of Good Hope. Many books were published in Capetown before 1814 (see Mendelssohn's South African Bibliography, Vol. I, Kegan Paul & Co., 1910). There was no time to trace out the place of Grand's burial. The old Cemetery in Somerset Street has been lately disused, and many of the monuments removed to "Maitland," the others built into the Wall.

From the Last Will and Testament certain interesting facts emerge; firstly that Mr. Grand was in receipt of a handsome pension from his first wife. He speaks on the last page of his Narrative "of the generosity of a Friend who had a lively remembrance of attachment and obligation for the conduct which I had deserved during prosperity" and "to being offered by the same liberal friend a handsome pension to live in ease and to enjoy for the remainder of my days where the local was most agreeable. Although tendered to him by 'the warmest friend of my youth' Sir Elijah Impey and Mr. Wombwell I rejected this munificence intended." Apparently the rejection did not last for long.

The second fact is the reference to his son. All that can be found of this person is the information given in Dodwell & Miles' Alphabetical List of Officers in the Indian Army. He was a cadet in 1796, ensign, August 17, 1797, Lieut., October 12th, 1798, Captain, September 21st 1804 and Major, November 6 1811. On November 7th 1811 the day after he attained Majority he was invalided in India and was struck off, September 25th, 1823, in England. Mr. William Foster, Keeper of the Records in the India Office, whom I addressed in the matter states that there are no Cadet Papers in his case and no other information about his parentage; nor is his baptism recorded in their ecclesiastical returns. In the Army List of 1800 his name appears as Lieut. in the 12th Regiment of Madras Native Infantry.

The question naturally arises was he a son of Madame Grand or not. Mr. Grand in the postscript to his Narrative calls God to witness that to his knowledge he never saw the first Mrs. Grand neither in India nor in Europe from that melancholy Sunday, *viz.*, December 13th, 1778, the sensation of which day I have described and which fixes our eternal separation. There seems to be no hint of a child being in existence at the time of the Francis Scandal or subsequently. The puzzle only leaves the romance of Madame Grand more romantic still.

A word or two in conclusion as to the brothers and sisters of our hero. He had two brothers in the Bengal Army, Lieut. Robert Edward Grand of the First Regiment of Native Cavalry, was killed in action on the 4th of March 1782 in an action against some rebellious Zamindars in Jaunpore district which is apparently the old name for Benares. Another brother John Edmund Grand of the Bengal Artillery who was Lieut. Fireworker in 1778, died at Cawnpore, June 13, 1793.

Three sisters at least are known of, Susan, who in 1786 married Robert Ledlie, a Barrister, 23 years her senior and died in Calcutta 26th July 1800, the 33rd of her age. Elizabeth who was in Calcutta with her sister in 1800 married Lieut.-Col. Bell of the Northumberland Greys and is the Mrs. Bell referred to more than once in the Will. Lastly there is Jennie or Jane, the second lunatic in the family. She was married at St. John's Church, Calcutta, 6th July 1799 to Lieut. John Peregrine Reed who himself died at Barrackpore, July 20th, 1802.

So ends the last Chapter in the life of a person who whatever his vicissitudes can only be described as a futile fellow. Mirza Abu Taleb who travelled with him in the same ship from Calcutta to Dover in 1799 describes him as a very passionate and delicate gentleman of an enormous size. This confirms the story told by Mr. Grand against himself that when he went to interview Lord Cornwallis at Calcutta in 1792 his Lordship even deigned a smile saying that it seemed to him that the good fat beef for which Patna stood renowned had agreed very well with him.

The Genealogy of the Jagat Seths of Murshidabad.

(By P. C. Nahar, M.A., B.L., Calcutta.)

The object of this paper is to supply a more or less complete and authentic genealogical table with a brief note on that Indian Family, the fame of whose wealth had become almost mythical. The record of the services and the cordial relation of the ancestors of the family with the British Government at the beginning of their administration in Bengal, are facts too well-known and we find a good deal of information from the records already published, dealing with the doings and the history of the Jagat Seths, both in their relation to the Muhammadan Rulers of the Province as well as the British Power. During my search for unpublished Jain inscriptions and manuscripts, buried in Bhandars or with other private individuals, I came across a genealogical table with notices of the various members of this most interesting family. The latest account of the House of Jagat Seth has been published in Vols. XX & XXII of "Bengal, Past and Present," a journal of the Calcutta Historical Society, compiled by late Mr. J. H. Little, Headmaster of the Nizamut Madrassa at Murshidabad. It is now some six years ago in 1916 when I visited this gentleman after his return from England where he had been to collect all the available materials from the India Office for the compilation of a complete and accurate history of the family. At his request I prepared a genealogical tree mainly from materials then with me. Mr. Little was only too eager to accept my table as more complete and correct than other existing ones and to revise his compilation accordingly as will be seen from his letter dated the 16th January, 1916 (Ex. A); but unfortunately his short but promising career suddenly came to a close by his untimely death. Consequently the genealogical table prepared by me could not be incorporated in his work. I, however, take this pleasant opportunity to bring to light the result of my researches from materials not easily accessible to non-Jain scholars.

The Jagat Seths belong to the Oswal Sect of the Jains. It will require a whole volume to trace the history of the Sect which means history of conversion of the Rajput clans of Marwar, following Vedic religion, to Jainism. It will do for the purposes of this paper to say that the Sect derived its name from the place of its first conversion, still known as Osian in Jodhpur State, an account of which may be found in the Archæological Survey of India Reports, Pt. II. for 1908-09 (pp.

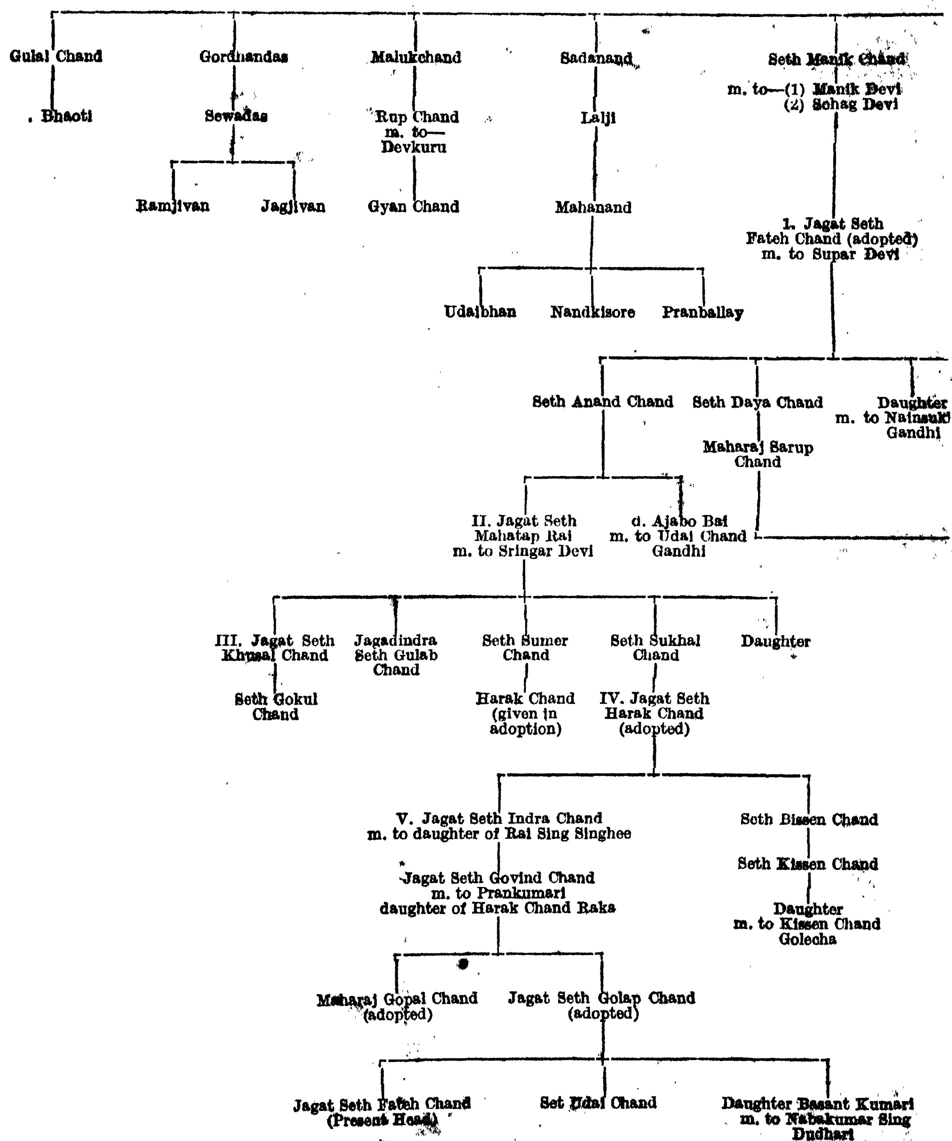
100-115). The gotra name of the family is *Gelhra* and the tradition is that one Girdhar Singh of Guhlot (Khichi) clan of the Rajputs, was converted to Jainism by Acharya Jina Hansa Suri towards the beginning of the 16th century and the family gotra was named after Gelaji, son of Girdhar Singh. The members belong to Parswáchandra Gachcha of the Jain church. Of the ancestors, we find mention of Sing Raj, his son Akhay Raj and his grandson Karam Chand in the genealogical tree (App. I of "The House of Jagat Seth" by Mr. Little) without any other information regarding them. Next we find Shah Hiranand, an inhabitant of the town of Nagore in Marwar, leaving his native place to seek his fortune in the East. He reached Patna in the Hijri year 1042 corresponding to Vikram Samvat 1709 (1652 A.D.) on the 3rd day of the full moon of the month of Baisakh. He settled there and breathed his last in the year 1768 V. S. (1711 A.D.) on the fourth day of the full moon of the month of Magh. He left behind him seven sons and one daughter. It is only from the colophon of an illustrated Ms.—"Bhupal Chaturvinsatika" Kavya (Ex. B) written at the instance of Manik Devi, first wife of Seth Manik Chand, fifth son of Shah Hiranand, that we find a correct genealogy from Hiranand down to his sons and grandsons. The Ms. is not dated but supplies us names in order of seniority which is not found even in the Hindi Note-book preserved in the family and translated by Mr. Little in Appendix II of his article. Another Ms. (Ex. C) also written for the use of the said Manik Devi, is dated V. S. 1777 (1720 A.D.) in the month of Falgun, second day of the new moon, Friday. My next source of information like the aforesaid note-book is a brief account of the family, collected together and written in Nagri character by a relation of late Jagat Seth Indra Chand with dates both in Hijri and Samvat eras. It was handed over to me by my late father Rai Setab Chand Nahar Bahadur, but I have presented the same to his descendant, keeping a copy of it myself (Ex. D).

As regards inscriptions, "Hunter's Statistical Account of Bengal," IX, p. 264, quoted by Mr. Little, mentions names of Shugol Chand and Hoshiyal Chand. But this is not correct. The images and the foot-prints on the Pareshnath Hills bear the name of Khusal Chand Birani, a member of the same gotra as Manik Devi. Also I have not come across the inscription dated 1816 with the name of Rup Chand Jagat Seth as mentioned by Hunter. Except the Farmans as mentioned below, granted in the names of the Jagat Seths as head of the Jain Community in Bengal in connection with their sacred places, there does not exist any image or foot-print on Pareshnath Hills with Prakrit or Sanskrit inscription mentioning the names of any of the Jagat Seths. My research, however, has revealed the name of that religious lady, Manik Devi, in the pedestal of a silver image preserved in the family temple of the Jagat Seths at Mahimapur with the name of her husband Seth Manik Chand. This inscription is dated V. S. 1776 (1719 A. D.). It is published as No. 76 in my volume of "Jaina Inscriptions"—Pt. I (p. 19). Two inscriptions Nos. 59 and 60 (Ex. E & F) bearing the same date V. S. 1830 (1774 A.D.) are from the pedestals of two beautiful massive Jaina images of black stone, worshipped in Kiratbagh temple, about a mile north of Jiaganj in the District of Murshidabad. Both of them mention names of Jagat Seth Fateh Chand of Gelrha gotra, his son Seth Anand Chand and his daughter Ajabo Bai who is married to Udai Chand,

son of Kamal Nayan of Gandhi gotra. Two other inscriptions Nos. 61 and 62 (Ex. G & H) of the same date are from foot-prints in the same temple and give names of Kamal Nayan, Udai Chand and Ajobo Bai only. The next important inscription (Ex. I) also of the same date, is found on a stone foot-print in a temple on the Rajgir Hills being No. 260 of my volume. This mentions both the name of the gotra of the family as well as the names of Jagat Seth Fateh Chand, his son Anand Chand and his grandson Mahatap Rai with his wife Jagat Sethani Sringar Devi, the donor. There is another slightly earlier inscription (No. 86) of V. S. 1811 (1754 A.D.). It gives names of three generations from Sabha Chand of Gokhru gotra to Muhkam Singh, ancestors of late Raja Shiva Prashad, C.S.I., of Benares. Sabha Chand is son of Rai Udai Chand of Agra, father of the first Jagat Seth Fateh Chand, taken in adoption by his maternal grandfather, Seth Manik Chand. Udai Chand married Dhan Bai, the only sister of Seth Manik Chand and daughter to Shah Hiranand who first settled in Patna. I have seen his charming residence and Kuthi (place of business) situated on the bank of the river Ganges at Patna. His son Seth Manik Chand who removed from Patna with his adopted son, Fateh Chand, opened his firm at Dacca in V. S. 1757 (1700 A.D.) and with the change of capital finally settled at Mahimapur in Murshidabad. With the transfer of the seat of Government from Murshidabad to Calcutta, the Seths had their firm opened in Calcutta in the centre of business at Barabazar and the place is still popularly known as Jagat Seth's Kuthi in Khengrapati Street.

The next historical records of the family are the Farmans granted at times by the Delhi Emperors beginning from Furrackshyar conferring the title of "Seth" and "Jagat Seth" to members of the family at different dates. There are other Farmans and Parwanas issued by the reigning sovereigns of Delhi in connection with the grant of certain places of pilgrimage including the whole mountain of Pareshnath Hills to the Jagat Seths, being holy places of worship to the Jain Swetambars to which sect they belong. These are in the possession of the manager of Pareshnath Hills and their translations are published by me in the "Epitome of Jainism" in App. B (h, i & j). These supply names of Jagat Seth Mahtaub Rai, Jagat Seth Khusal Chand and Sukhal Chand with dates.

With these materials mainly I have prepared the following genealogical table :—


Gulal Chand
Bhaoti
Gordhandas
Sewadas
Ramjivan
Jagjivan
Malukchand
Rup Chand m. to— Devkuru
Gyan Chand
Sadanand
Lalji
Mahanand
Udaibhan
Nandkisore
Pranballay
Seth Manik Chand
m. to—(1) Manik Devi (2) Sohag Devi
I. Jagat Seth Fateh Chand (adopted) m. to Supar Devi
Seth Anand Chand
Seth Daya Chand
Maharaj Sarup Chand
Daughter m. to Nainsukh Gandhi
II. Jagat Seth Mahatap Rai m. to Sringar Devi
d. Ajabo Bai m. to Udai Chand Gandhi
III. Jagat Seth Khusal Chand
Seth Gokul Chand
Jagadindra Seth Gulab Chand
Seth Sumer Chand
Harak Chand (given in adoption)
Seth Sukhal Chand
IV. Jagat Seth Harak Chand (adopted)
Daughter
V. Jagat Seth Indra Chand m. to daughter of Rai Sing Singhee
Jagat Seth Govind Chand m. to Prankumari daughter of Harak Chand Raka
Seth Bissen Chand
Seth Kissen Chand
Daughter m. to Kissen Chand Golecha
Maharaj Gopal Chand (adopted)
Jagat Seth Golap Chand (adopted)
Jagat Seth Fateh Chand (Present Head)
Set Udai Chand
Daughter Basant Kumari m. to Nabakumar Sing Dudhari

Ex. A.

NAWAB BAHADUR'S INSTITUTION,
Murshidabad.
16th January 1916.

DEAR MR. NAHAR,

Many thanks for your kindness in sending me an impression of the inscription in the temple at Bhagulpore. I shall incorporate it in my book on the family of Jugat Seth as soon as the head of the family arranges for the publication of the book. I shall be very glad to receive a copy of the genealogical tree which you very kindly intend to send me. With best wishes for the success of your antiquarian and literary labours on behalf of the Jain Community and with kind regards.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) J. H. LITTLE.

INSCRIPTIONS.

(No. 76.)

Text.

सं० १७७६ वैशाख शुक्ल ५ तिथौ। ओसवाल वंशीय श्रेष्ठ श्री माणिक चंदजी स्वधर्म पत्नी माणिक देवी प्रतिष्ठितं श्रीमत् चतुर्विंशति जिन विंबं चिरं जयतात् ॥ श्रेयोस्तु: ॥ भद्रं भवतु: ॥

Translation.

In the Vikram year 1776, on the 5th day of the full-moon in the month of Baisakh, Manik Devi, wife of Seth Shri Manik Chandji of Oswal clan, caused the auspicious image of the twenty-four Jinas to be made. May it be ever victorious and may it bring prosperity and goodness.

Ex. E.

(No. 59.)

Text.

L. 1. ॥ श्री सं० १८३० माघ शुक्ल ५ चन्द्रे श्री पार्श्वचन्द्र गच्छे उ० श्री हर्षचंदजी नित्यचन्द्रजीत्कानामुपदेशेन।

L. 2. ओसवंशे गांधी गोत्रे साहजी श्री कमल नयनजी तत्पुत्र सा० उदय चन्द्रजी तत्धर्मपत्नी तथा ओस वं० गहलड़ा गोत्रे जगत्सेठजी श्रीफतेचन्द्रजी तत्पुत्रसेठ आ।

L. 3. नन्द चन्द्रजी तत्पुत्री बाइ अजबोजी श्रीमत्पार्श्वनाथ विंबं कारापितं। प्रतिष्ठितं च वि० सूरिभि: श्री भानुचन्द्रेणेति आचन्द्रार्कचिरं नन्दतात् भद्रं भूयाच्च श्रियं।

Translation.

In the auspicious Vikram year 1830, on Monday the 5th day of the full-moon of the month of Magh, at the advice of Upadhyaya Shri Harsha Chandraji and Nityachandraji of the Parswa Chandra Gachcha, Bai Ajaboji, wife of Shah Udai Chandraji, son of Shähji Shri Kamalnayanji of the Gandhi gotra of Osa (Oswal) clan and daughter of Seth Anand Chandraji, son of Jagat Seth Shri Fateh Chandraji of Gahalara gotra of Osa (Oswal) clan, caused the image of the venerable Parswanath to be made and duly consecrated by Shri Bhanuchandra Suri. May it ever bring happiness till the sun and the moon last and may it bring goodness and prosperity.

Ex. F.

(No. 60.)

Text.

L. 1. ॥ श्री सं १८३० माघ शुक्ल ५ चन्द्रे श्री पार्श्वचंद्र गच्छे उ० श्री हर्षचन्द्रजी नित्यचन्द्रजी स्कानामुपदेशेन ।

L. 2. ओस वं० गांधी गोत्रे सा० श्री कमल नयन तत्पुत्र सा० उदय चन्द्रजी तत्धर्मपत्नी तथा ओस वंशे गहलड़ा गोत्रे ।

L. 3. जगत्सेठ श्री फते चंद्रजी तत्पुत्र सेठ आनन्दचंद्र तत्पुत्री बाइ अजबोजी श्री वासुपूज्य बिंबं कारापितं प्र० सूरि श्री भानुचन्द्रणेति भद्रं भूयाच्छिवं सदा ॥

Translation.

In the auspicious Vikram year 1830, on Monday the 5th day of the full-moon of the month of Magh, at the advice of Upadhyaya Shri Harsha Chandraji and Nitya Chandraji of the Parswa Chandra Gachcha, Bai Ajaboji, wife of Shah Udai Chandraji, son of Shahji Shri Kamalnayanji of the Gandhi gotra of Osa (Oswal) clan and daughter of Seth Anand Chandraji son of Jagat Seth Shri Fateh Chandraji of Gahalara gotra of Osa (Oswal) clan caused the image of the venerable Vasupujya consecrated by Shri Bhanu Chandra Suri. May it ever bring goodness and welfare.

Ex. G.

(No. 61.)

Text.

L. 1. सं १८३० वर्षे माघ शुक्ल ५ चंन्द्रवासरे ओस वंशे गांधीगोत्रे सा० श्री कमल नयन जी तत्पुत्री सा० ।

L. 2. उदयचन्द जी तद्भार्या बाइ अजबोजीकेन श्री प्रथम आर्यदिन्न गणधर पादुका कारापितं

Translation.

In the Vikram year 1830, on Monday the 5th day of the full-moon of the month of Magh, Bai Ajaboji, wife of Shah Udai Chandji, son of Shah Shri Kamalanayanji,

of the Gandhi gotra of Osa (Oswal) clan, caused the foot-print of Aryadinna, first Ganadhar of Shri Parswanath.

Ex. H.

(No. 62.)

Text.

L. 1. सं १८३० वर्षे माघ शुक्ल ५ सोमे गांधी गोत्रे सा० श्री कमल नयन जी तत्पुत्र सा०

L. 2. श्री उदयचन्द्र जी तत्धर्मपत्नी बाइ अजबोजीकेन श्री वासुपूज्य प्रथम सुभूम गणधर

L. 3. पादुका कारापितं।

Translation.

In the Vikram year 1830 on Monday the 5th day of the full-moon of the month of Magh, Bai Ajaboji, wife of Shah Udai Chandji, son of Shah Shri Kamalanayanji of the Gandhi gotra of Osa (Oswal) clan, caused the foot-print of Subhoom, first Ganadhar of Shri Vasupujya.

Ex I.

(No. 260.)

Text.

L. 1. श्री सम्वत १८३० माघ शुक्ल ५ चन्द्रे ओसवंशे गहलड़ा गोत्रे जगत्सेठ जी श्री फते चन्द जी तत्पुत्रसेठ आणन्द चन्दजी तत्पुत्र जगत्सेठ

L. 2. जी श्री महताब रायजी तद्धर्म पत्नी जगत्सेठाणीजी श्री शृङ्गारदेवी श्रीमदेकादश गणधर पादुका कारापितं। स्था० राजगृह नगरोपरि वैभार गिरौ॥

Translation.

In the auspicious Vikram year 1830 on Monday the 5th day of the full-moon of the month of Magh, Jagat Sethani Shri Sringardevi, wife of Jagat Sethji Mahatab Raiji, son of Seth Anand Chandji, son of Jagat Sethji, Shri Fateh Chandji of Gahalara gotra of Osa (Oswal) clan, caused the foot-print of the eleventh Ganadhar to be made and placed on Vaibhar Hills in city of Rajgir.

(No. 86.)

Text.

ओं भगवते नमः॥ सम्वत अठारहसै ग्यारह (१८११) कृष्ण द्वादसी भृगु बैशाख। ओसवाल कुल गोत्र गोखरू ओमलजैन धर्मकी साख॥ सभाचन्दके अमरचन्द सुत तिन सुत सुखकमसिंह सुनाम। तिनकी धाम राय मन्दिर यह भागीरथी तीर विश्राम॥

Translation.

Om. Obeisance to the Almighty. In the Vikram era 1811 on Friday the twelfth day of the new-moon of the month of Baisakh, Mukhkum Singh of good repute, son of Amar Chand, son of Sabha Chand of Gokhru gotra of Oswal clan, following the teachings of the auspicious Jain religion, built this Rai Mandir, a house of peace, situate on the bank of river Bhagirathi.

FARMANS.

(h)

(Farman of Emperor Ahmad Shah, dated 1752 A.D., fifth year of his reign)

In the name of the Purest, Highest in Station.

Seal.

Be it known to the Officers and Managers of the present and future affairs of the Province of Bengal and the other Provinces under dominion, that Jagat Seth Mahtab Ray represented to us the high in dignity that mountain Pareshnathjee, situate in the country of Bengal, the place of worship according to the Jain Setamburee religion also the Koti at station Mudhoobun, on a rent-free (lakhiraj) ground, butted and bounded by four boundaries belong (to the followers of) the Jain Setamburee religion and that he, the devoted supplicant is a follow r of the Jain Setamburee religion, therefore, is hopeful of the Royal bounty that the mountain and the Koti aforesaid, be bestowed by the resplendent Huzur on that obedient supplicant, so that, composed in mind, he may devote himself to pray according to that religion. Whereas the person aforesaid deserves Royal favour and bounty, also as it appears that the property he asks for, has a particular connection with him, and (as) it appeared on inquiry instituted by this High in Dignity that mountain Pareshnath and the Koti aforesaid have from a long time appertained to the (followers of the) Jain Setamburee religion, therefore the whole of the mountain and the Koti at Mudhoobun butted and bounded by four boundaries, are bestowed by the Royal Court on the aforesaid person. It is required that he should always devote to pray himself for the welfare and prosperity of the State; and no one should offer opposition respecting the mountain Pareshnath and the Koti at Mudhoobun.

Knowing this to be a very urgent matter, let them act as directed. Finis.

The whole of mountain Pareshnath situate in the country of Bengal.

Three hundred and one Beeghas of Lakhiraj land of Mudhoobun situate in the country of Bengal, butted and bounded by four boundaries specified below.

On the West—the water-course of Joyporiah *alias* Jaynugger.

On the East—the old water-course (nala).

On the North—the *koond* or reservoir (called) Julhurrey prepared by the (followers of the) Jain Setamburee religion.

On the South—the base of Mountain Pareshnath.

Written on the 27th day of the month of Jamādi-ul-awwal, the fifth year of the King's reign. (On the back) The Khan of Khans Karimuddin Khan Bahadur, Victorious in War, the Vizier of Territories, Manager of affairs, Noblest of Nobles, the Head of the country, Commander-in-Chief, a faithful friend and servant of the King Ahmad Shah, the Hero.

A true translation of the annexed Persian Document for Baboo Poran Chund.

(Sd.) SHAMACHURN SIRCAR,
Chief Interpreter and Translator,
High Court, Original Jurisdiction.

The 19th March 1868.

(i)

(Sanad of Aboo Ali Khan Bahadur, dated the third year of reign)
Aboo Ali Khan Bahadur, Emperor
and Champion of Faith—Seal.

To

The Motsuddees of the present time and of future of Pergunnah Bissoonpore Pachrookhy in the province of Behar.

Take notice that

Since Mouzah Palgunge in the aforesaid Pergunnah has been as heretofore exempted from all liabilities in the name of Raja Padman Singh as a charitable endowment to all the temples of Pareshnath made by Juggut Sett, the same is therefore upheld and confirmed in the year 1169 Fusli (1755 A.D.). You shall raise no objection and offer no opposition in any way whatever in respect of the said Mouzah and shall release and leave it to the use and possession of the above named Rajah so that he may apply the profits thereof to necessary purposes and continue to pray for the welfare of the empire to last for ever. Written on the 27th day of Jamadi-us-sani in the third year of reign.

True translation
(Sd.) ISWAREE PERSAD.

The 21st January 1869.

(j)

(Parwana of Jagat Seth Khushal Chand, dated 1775 A.D.)

Jaggat Sett Khoshull Chand 1187—Seal.

High in dignity Baboo Sookhul Chand Sahoo and Boola Sahoo, Managers of the temples of Jain Situmbury, *i.e.*, on the hills of Pareshnathjee *alias* Somed Shekhurjee, be of good cheer.

A long time ago since the reigns of the Emperors, the hills of Pareshnathjee being considered the holy place of the persons of Jain Situmbury religion, were made over to my father, because we were also of the religion of Jain Situmbury. But owing to my having been charged with various affairs, and the said holy place being situate at a great distance I could not manage the affairs thereof. I therefore having appointed you as the manager of the affairs write to you that you should most carefully manage all affairs so that the pilgrims might with perfect ease travel there and return therefrom. This hill and the holy place have been in the possession of the persons of Jain Situmbury. No other person has anything to do with it. Therefore this Perwanah or order is written to you that you should act accordingly. If any of the authorities or landholders set up opposition in any way, you should produce this Perwanah. Dated the 16th of the month of Ziqad 1189 Hijri.

True translation

(Sd.) JADUB CHUNDER MITTER.

Research Work in Modern Indian History.

(By Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Litt.D., F.R.Hist.S., University Professor of Modern Indian History, Allahabad.)

The present occasion offers a favourable opportunity of reviewing the progress of our investigations into the history of Modern India, and offering a few suggestions as regards the organisation of our work. The scope of my paper is limited to the history of the last four hundred years. Historians of India are still undecided as regards the essential differences between Mediæval and Modern India, nor have they fixed any particular period that may serve as a connecting link between the two. My limitation of the period to the last four hundred years may appear arbitrary to some, but my best justification lies in the fact that a deeper study of the Mughal institutions, and a searching analysis of the revenue administration, fiscal system, military organisation, and judicial arrangements, that were developed by the Mughal sovereigns of India, are an indispensable preliminary to the understanding of the India of to-day. To take but one example, thorough study of the revenue administration under the Mughals would have saved the early British administrators, and will save, I am convinced, even the present day administrators, from

many mistakes. We are all of us acquainted with the voluminous literature on the permanent settlement, and many of us have had to wade through a large number of pamphlets and bulky folios on the revenue system under the Mughals. The work of Grant and a host of lesser luminaries who took part in that controversy shows clearly enough the need for the scientific study of Mughal India. I think it would be best to indicate briefly the gaps in our knowledge of Modern Indian History, and then to suggest how they can be filled up.

We possess several admirable works on Baber and Akbar, and considerable progress has been made in the elucidation of many important points in the history of that period. I believe, however, much more could be done on the history of Mughal Art; on the growth of vernacular literature; on the religious movements, and economic progress of the country. A history of India, tracing the growth of commerce and industry in the time of Akbar; a monograph on the development of customs and excise duties in the early stages of the Mughal Empire; a treatise mirroring before us the social changes which the Indian people experienced, are what we need at the present. Admirable work has already been done on some of these subjects. What we need is intensive study of the religious, social and economic aspects of the reigns of Baber and Akbar.

Jahangir is known to all of us through the accounts of European travellers, and, of course, through his own inimitable Memoirs. We have, moreover, other data for the reconstruction of the history of that period. Shah Jahan, however, still awaits a skilful biographer. It seems strange that he should have had to wait for a biographer, as it is through its memorials of magnificence and culture, its unique example of devotion and piety, that the Mughal Empire is recalled to our mind at the present day. Aurangzeb's work is known to all of us through the devotion, intelligence, and patience of a scholar who is happily with us to-day. My earnest hope is that he may live long enough to complete the survey of economic, social and administrative development in the reign of that monarch. Of the later Mughals, Mr. Irvine has supplied a graphic picture, instinct with the energy and force of his personality. I will not dilate here on the excellence of this treatise, as my object is to point out the gaps in our knowledge, and not to attempt an elaborate analysis of the existing works on the subject. We still need a history of the Jats and Sikhs in the early half of the eighteenth century. The Jats, as all of us know, played a most important part in the history of the Mughal Empire during the period, but their aversion to recording their achievements and propensity to fighting, are responsible for the meagre information we possess on the subject. The Sikhs, too, were too busy consolidating their position to find time to chronicle their deeds. Yet a host of legends, a multiplicity of established facts, and a small number of works on their early history, testify to the permanence of their influence in the Punjab of the times. The Saiyyads supply another interesting element to the

historian of the later Mughals. Many colonies of Saiyyads are to be found in the Punjab, the United Provinces and other provinces of India. The Saiyyads in fact are as plentiful as—I should be inclined to say more plentiful—than the other great divisions into which Muslim society in India is divided. We may leave out pseudo Saiyyads, and confine ourselves to the Saiyyads proper. We all know the important part they played in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, and every school-bcy knows the tragic story of Farrukhsiyar. Is it not possible for us to investigate their history properly? Some of their descendants are still living in the homes which their forefathers rendered famous, and we may glean most useful information from the family papers preserved with touching fidelity by the piety of their ancestors.

Investigations into the history of another important race may throw considerable light on the vicissitudes of the later Mughals. I refer, of course, to the Pathan colonies in Northern India. Many of these colonies are to be found in several parts of Northern India, and as some of them took a prominent part in that period of anarchy and confusion, researches into their history will yield a rich harvest. All of us have heard of the Rohilla War. Some of us may have ventured further afield, and attacked the unwieldy material in the Parliamentary Reports and Reports on the trial of Warren Hastings. The latter do not, however, represent the entire mass of material on the history of this tribe. There are still a large number of families in Rohilkhand who cling to their family papers with the tenacity born of stubborn pride, and we may pick up a gem here and there, if we essayed the task, and were fortified by liberal measure of tact, sympathy, and knowledge. The Bangash family has been dealt with by a master-mind, but there are other Pathan colonies that will repay study.

I may sum up this part of my paper by pointing out the lines along which our inquiries into Mughal India ought to proceed. Briefly put, we need a scientific and detailed study of the institutions of the Mughal Empire. We know comparatively little about the growth of the revenue administration under the Mughals; and less of the development of judicial institutions. We are still dependent upon the European travellers for information on the social and economic history of the period, and have not yet essayed the task of combining native with foreign authority on the subject. Some admirable monographs exist, no doubt; but we must supplement our individual, isolated efforts, by a properly organised, and carefully co-ordinated scheme, if we are to be successful in our inquiries. For the history of the later Mughals, we must supplement the existing material by instituting an elaborate search for the traditions, folklore, and documents on the Sikhs, the Jats, the Saiyyads, the Pathans and the Marathas during the period. Only then would it be possible to construct a really comprehensive history of the period.

I now come to the history of British India. Seventeenth century British India is known to us through the work of a devoted band of scholars, and we

have a series of brilliant monographs on every aspect of that period. The work of Foster, of Yule, and of Hunter has made us familiar with the doings of pioneers of trade and industry, and we can follow the progress of Madras or of Bombay in the XVIIth century with as sure a step as we follow the proceedings of Sir Philip Francis and his party. I think, however, a few gaps have still to be filled up, and I believe some of the documents that have not yet been tapped will reveal the existence of data that may considerably modify our knowledge of the period. The British Museum Library contains an exceedingly useful collection of manuscript on seventeenth century British Indian History. Their number amounts to about 200. Many of them have been consulted by students, and some have been published. There is, however, a comparatively large collection of documents that throw considerable light on XVIIth century Indian history. Take, for instance, the growth of Sanskritic studies in England. William Marshall was probably the first person who studied that language completely, and left an elaborate treatise on the subject. That treatise is preserved in the British Museum, and has lain unnoticed for over 250 years. I may mention one more instance. The East India Company's Ambassador to Aurangzeb left a most interesting account of his experiences, and indited a number of amusing letters describing vividly his dearly bought adventures. A complete account exists in the British archives, and can be consulted by any student. Moreover, little or nothing has been written by historians on the vital question of the negotiations of Charles II on behalf of the Company. Yet the Public Record Office contains a mass of material on this most important aspect of the Company's activity. Again, the old Company's struggle with the New Company; its fight in and out of Parliament; its policy towards the Mughal, and the Marathas, still await an inquirer. Lastly, we need a monograph on the methods adopted by the Company's factors in India for the improvement of Indian industry. These subjects may well be taken up by students of Indian history, as they will give him an insight into the working of an institution that ultimately dominated this country.

I now come to the XVIIIth century. This is a much more complex period, and needs the constant labour of a large band of workers. Good deal of spade work has already been done by a long line of distinguished scholars. Warren Hastings and Philip Francis are as familiar to us as any prominent politician of the present day, while Cornwallis is known to us through a measure that has permanently linked his name with the history of Bengal. Shore's is

The writer is engaged at present on the construction of an exhaustive bibliography of manuscripts on XVIIth Century British India, preserved in the leading British archives. This embodies the results of several years' work in the British Museum, the Public Record Office, the India Office, and other British archives. He is also annotating John Marshall's invaluable *Diary* and other manuscripts, and hopes to be able to bring out both the works next year. His *East India Trade in the XVIIth Century* has just been published by the Clarendon Press, Oxford; while his collection of material for the study of "Anglo-Portuguese Negotiations relating to Bombay, 1660—1673" was published at the beginning of this year. His articles in the *Journal of Indian History* throw further light on XVIIth Century British India.

a shadowy figure, but Wellesley makes up for the dimness of our light by his brilliant achievements. There is a large amount of data, so large indeed, and at times so dull, that it makes timid persons weary of ceaseless struggle with dry, dusty and dull documents. We have, however, many gaps to fill up. Our most important line of inquiry—the line of inquiry that has not been scientifically pursued by any person—should be concerned with the economic progress of the country in the latter half of the eighteenth century. There is a comparatively large amount of material on the subject; but it has not been properly analysed. The numerous Parliamentary Reports throw a flood of light on the trade and commerce of Bengal and other Provinces; while the documents in the Imperial Record Department, and the archives of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay Governments contain a mass of documents that may well astonish an economic historian. The importance of the history of Indian industry and trade can hardly be exaggerated. Indian financial history has hardly been touched by the historian, nor do we possess a really sound and reliable modern authority on the history of Indian currency. Indian bankers played a notable part in the revolutions of Bengal; their influence in Madras was no less prominent. Yet, barring a few papers on individual bankers, there is no book on Indian banking in the eighteenth century. Moreover, the growth of import trade, the changes in the famous trade routes, and their effect on Indian trade, need investigation, if we are to understand the political phenomena which they influenced. The next important point that needs study is the history of the administration of revenue during the latter part of the eighteenth century. Canon Firminger's work on the history of the administration of revenue, and the growth of judicial institutions during the administration of Warren Hastings made a distinct contribution to our knowledge; while the industry and intelligence of Sir William Hunter revealed an inexhaustible source of most valuable information. Their work, however, remains unfinished, and we still wait for an investigator who will give us an objective account of the period 1765-72, throw further light on the proceedings of the Committee of Circuit, instituted by Hastings, analyse the changes of 1776, and investigate the reforms of 1781. Nor has the literature on the permanent settlement of revenue in Bengal been adequately tapped. The Fifth Report is supposed to contain all the documents on this important subject, and Shore's famous Minute is still regarded as the final authority on the revenue policy of the period. I am the last person to deny either the importance of the data contained in the Fifth Report, or the significance of Shore's revenue policy as unfolded in his Minute. Both are important, and without a thorough study of the Report, it is impossible for the student to understand the principles underlying that measure. Very few, however, have analysed the documents appended to the Report. Is it not possible for some student to throw light on the documents collected by Grant, in his *Analysis of the Finances of Bengal*? Can we not supplement the documents contained in the Appendices to the Fifth Report? I believe there is a very large

collection of printed and manuscript material on the controversy over the permanent settlement, and I am convinced that our conception of the function of the permanent settlement will be modified by a closer study of the pamphlets in the British Museum, the voluminous material in the Record Department of the India Office, and the private archives of English nobility. There is no full-length history of the administration of Sir John Shore; while the policy of Wellesley and his striking achievement can be studied only in his Despatches, his Life, and in a few pamphlets written during the period. Yet this does not represent the entire mass of material on the history of the period. Even a cursory survey of the records in the India Office will show how rich are the data which that famous archive boasts. We have, however, done nothing to advance our knowledge of that important phase of our country's development and are still dependent upon works written in the mid-Victorian era. There is, however, one ray of hope. The Maratha scholars have devoted considerable attention to the study of the history of their race, and their piety and scholarship have yielded a collection of material of the utmost value to the student of eighteenth century history. Perhaps some day a Rajput historian will give us an impartial account of the history of Rajputana during the last half of the eighteenth century. In the Record Offices at Jodhpore, at Udaipur, and many other Rajput States are preserved many of the most valuable data for the history of the eighteenth century India; while the admirable archive at Indore, and the excellent *Daftari Mal* and *Daftari Diwan* at Hyderabad contain priceless data on every aspect of the history of these States. I personally inspected a large number of them last year in the course of my tour, and can say without exaggeration that our efforts for the investigation of the history of this period will be rendered nugatory until the contents of the principal documents preserved in these archives have been thoroughly studied. I may go further, and assert that the chief defect of English works on XVIIIth, and, to a large extent, on XIXth century India lies in the absence of reference to indigenous material. The Persian authorities, the mass of material in vernacular on the history of the period, and all other subsidiary aids to formal documents, as folklore, custom, religion, and contact with men whose forefathers took a part, however humble, in the history of their country, are practically ignored. The result is that most curious phenomenon, a history of eighteenth century India, ignoring the voluminous amount of material in the Record Offices of Indian States, avoiding all references to indigenous material, and eschewing the magnificent collection of pamphlet literature and manuscript material in the British Museum, and the private archives of English nobility. What, then, is it based upon? Why, upon a few stereotyped Despatches originating in the grateful, though by no means a discriminative, piety of a noble family. It may, and I believe it sometimes does, pick up a few documents from the generous treasure of the India Office and tries to weave the material together. But the subject is so hackneyed, the documents are so unskilfully arranged,

that it rarely throws additional light on, or supplies a new interpretation of, a policy and its execution. Do not suppose for a moment that I have painted the picture in lurid colours. I have merely stated my personal experience, and I am sure many of you will verify the truth of my statements. A really satisfactory history of XVIIIth century British India does not exist, chiefly because it is impossible for a single person to master all the data, in all the languages, of every province of that stormy period. The only solution is a form of co-operative enterprise in which each specialist will embody the results of his researches.

Historical works on nineteenth century Indian history are probably too well known for me to attempt an analysis of the important works here. The material is immense; so is the industry of the prolific Memoir writers, travellers, and biographers. Several admirable biographies of Governors-General exist; there are a number of excellent Selections from Despatches; a few books throw a fitful light on the notable wars and personalities of the period; and, most important of all, the enormous mass of documents published by the various Departments of the Local Governments and the Central Government, supply detailed information on every aspect of the development of India in the XIXth century. Has the information contained in these publications been utilised by the historian of the present day? Has any economic historian attempted a detailed and exhaustive history of XIXth century India? There *are* a few works on the subject, I admit; and the Gazetteers *do* supply useful information on the history of the period. But Gazetteers are not histories; they are professedly compilations, boiled down from a mass of ill-digested material in a way that may well rouse the ire of the historian. Some of the Gazetteers are, I admit, better than many so-called histories of the period. Their works exhibit truer historical perspective of the period than many hack writers of six penny histories of India. They are not, however, a substitute for History, and it behoves all historians of India to remedy this great deficiency in our scholarship. The material exists in abundance; the English archives are open to all genuine students, and if we can organise a carefully co-ordinated scheme and plan systematic inquiries, we shall have gone far towards rehabilitating Indian historical scholarship. It is strange, though true, that our knowledge of nineteenth century Indian history is more vague, the interest we take in, say, the Sikh Wars, the Burmese Wars, and the Afghan Wars, and the economic and political development of the different provinces of India, is not so sustained and active, as our interest in the trial of Nuncomar, Warren Hastings' treatment of Begums of Oudh, and his duel with Francis.

In the brief survey of our sins of omission, I have deliberately acted the part of an *advocatus diaboli*, as I believe we need constant reminders of our objective, if we are to achieve what we set out to do. It seems to me that the isolated work of a devoted scholar cannot be a satisfactory substitute for the carefully organised and completely co-ordinated work of a body of experts on various periods of Modern Indian History. This is an age of specialisation, of

the intensive study of a distinct part of a subject, and universal historians are extinct as the mastodon. Modern Indian History is so complex, the material for the study of seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth century India is so vast, that no person can hope to study any one century until he has gone through a rigid training, and soaked himself, so to say, in the documents. Hence the need for the differentiation of the historian of modern India, from that of Ancient and Mediæval India; hence, too, the necessity for freeing history from bondage to Literature, Theology and Politics. We want, in fact, a new hierarchy, that will follow unflinchingly the highest ideals and satisfy the severest canons of historical scholarship. Its functions will be to organise systematic inquiries into Modern Indian History, to allocate well-marked periods to experts, and to edit all the important documents *in extenso.* I believe many families in India possess documents of essential interest to the historian, and I do not anticipate any objection on their part to our *reasonable* request. I lay considerable emphasis on the word reasonable, as I believe the success of our inquiries into Modern Indian History depend largely on our securing the co-operation of Indian Princes. We need, in fact, two sets of preliminary inquiries before we can start the proper work of the construction of a scientific history of India. In the first place, there is need for a Historical Manuscript Commission which will transcribe important family papers of private persons in British India and Indian States. I need only refer here to the admirable work of the Historical Manuscript Commission in England. No historian of modern England regards his researches complete until he has gone carefully through the appendices to the Reports of the Commission. I can say from personal experience that careful study of the Appendices to some of the Reports saved me months of labour in the Manuscript Department of the British Museum. I will not dilate here on the utility of this project to historians of India, as I believe all of us have felt the need of a comprehensive bibliography, and realised the necessity of a *précis* of many of the documents that remain a sealed book to them.

In the next place, we need a Commission that will do for Modern Indian History what the Rolls Series has done for Mediæval English History, and the German Commission on the History of Germany. It will transcribe the numerous *farmans* preserved by the Indian Princes, publish scarce works, and print abstracts of valuable documents on Indian History in the archives of Berlin, Paris, London, private libraries of American millionaires, and archives of small European States.

This is an ambitious scheme, and I confess I see no sign of its realisation in this decade. I believe, however, all of our inquiries into the history of British India will remain incomplete unless they are supplemented by careful searches among the English archives, while the study of Mughal India constantly necessitates references to documents that are to be found in Europe alone. How, then, can we surmount this obstacle?

Is it possible for us to regard any one of the numerous works on XVIIIth and XIXth century Indian history as a final authority? A glance at the contents of any one of these works will show the hollowness of the claims advanced by the "researchers." References to records in Provincial Records Offices, the Imperial Record Department, and the India Office Record Department are conspicuous by their absence.

Paradoxically enough, the student of Indian History must leave India, spend a few years in England, and study a voluminous amount of material on the history of his country, before he can be said to have mastered the subject in which he has specialised. I will now sum up this part of my paper, and briefly indicate the lines of future advance. In the first place, we need an expert body that will organise on a proper basis systematic inquiries into Modern Indian History. It must collect materials for its study, partly by calendaring the family papers of Indian families, and partly by preparing critical editions of rare works, translation of important documents, and transcription from the European archives. These two functions must be performed by two distinct bodies, the Historical Manuscript Commission, and the Commission on the Sources of Modern Indian History. The work of the historian will begin only after the labours of the two Commissions have been completed. For the scientific history of Modern India involves as its indispensable preliminaries, the collection of all the material, and its careful analysis. Only then would it be possible for us to treat the growth of our country with the objectivity, the wealth of detail and the keen psychological insight which Historical Science demands.

I should have liked to have detailed a plan for the institution of a Historical Research Institute for India; but I am allowed only half an hour for the reading of this paper, and as there are several interesting papers to be read to-day, I will end as I began, by pointing out the absolute necessity of organising researches into Modern Indian History on a co-operative basis.

There was a brief discussion on this paper.

Some Aspects of the Revenue Collection in Bengal immediately after the Assumption of the Diwani.

(By R. B. Ramsbotham, M.B.E., M.A., Principal, Hooghly College, Chinsurah.)

The paper which you have done me the honour of requesting, has been written subject to two limitations. The first is that it has to be read within 30 minutes. it must therefore of necessity be a mere sketch. The second limitation is that my investigations are by no means complete. I am working at the records of the Early Revenue History after the Assumption of the Diwani, and this paper only deals with a side issue of my work: namely, some of the difficulties that confronted

those in authority after the proclamation of May 11th, 1772 ; subject to these limitations I submit this paper.

Students of the early history of the British East India Company will recollect that, at a meeting of the Select Committee in Calcutta on August 16th, 1769, it was unanimously decided " to appoint supravisors on behalf of the Company in each particular province," *i.e.*, district. These supravisors were " gentlemen in the service "[1] and received their instructions in a very detailed manner from Mr. H. Verelst, President of the Council, with the unanimous approbation of the Select Committee.

[*Vide* Colebrooke.—Supplement, pages 174—190.]

[,, Verelst " A view etc." pages 224—239.]

They were directed to prepare a summary history of the district in which they were employed, paying special attention to the state of the land, its produce and capacity ; the revenue, taxes and impositions of all kind whatsoever paid by the cultivator, whether to Government, or the Landlord, or to religious authorities : the prevailing regulations of Commerce, the administrative system of justice which then obtained, and the political history of the districts from the time of Shuja-ud-Din Khan (1725 A.D.). These subjects were expected to be submitted to a careful and searching enquiry in order that a full report on the same might be rendered to the Directors of the Hon'ble Company. The instructions ended with a lofty note of advice to the supravisors to remember that their commission entrusted them with great opportunities for doing humane and just work and for displaying (to quote the words of the instructions themselves) " those national principles of honour, faith, rectitude and humanity which should ever characterise the name of an Englishman."

The reason for this Commission was due to what Verelst himself describes as " the inextricable labyrinth of confusion " in which the administrative condition of Bengal was found, and of which Verelst has written an account based on his own experiences in the Burdwan District in 1765.

The report of the supravisors, when transmitted to London, resulted in the Company's well known proclamation of May 11th, 1772, in which they state that " the Honourable Court of Directors have determined to stand forth publicly themselves in the character of Diwan " and by the agency of the Company's servants to carry out the revenue administration.

This proclamation, therefore, transferred the collection of the revenue of Bengal to the Company's servants and it is at this point that I venture to call your attention to certain facts.

In effect, this proclamation was a peremptory instruction to the employees of a mercantile concern to consider themselves an executive service for the collection of state revenue. The senior employees in the Company's service had therefore to construct an administrative and executive service from men who had not been selected for such duties, and whose training and education had not been directed towards the public service. They had no traditions to which they might appeal, no standard to serve as a guide ; the material on which they had to work had come

to India avowedly for the purpose of making money as soon as possible and of leaving India when that object was achieved. The Company's junior servants were of an exceedingly immature age,—cadets being sent out at the age of 15 and 16,—and were the protegés or poor relations of influential London Merchants, trained, so far as they had received any training, to find in the ledger-book the sole test of satisfactory progress. This was the material that was ordered to take over charge and restore efficiency to a vast country which for 50 years preceding had been in administrative chaos, so far as the revenue collection, at least, was concerned; and of which neither the customs, nor the history nor, in most cases, the language was known to the new executive upon whom this great work had been thrust. I need not labour the point, but you will see how incorrect it is for students of history to criticise or permit criticism of the early administration of the Company in terms which assume that the early executive servants of the Company's administration were members of a trained and disciplined public service.

The second chapter of Verelst's work gives in some detail the problems which awaited solution, and his evidence has the combined authority of inside knowledge and contemporary observation. The existing methods of collecting the revenue were oppressive and chaotic; the judicial administration was no better, and all questions were complicated by racial misunderstanding. What the Indian viewed with toleration the Englishman regarded with abhorrence; what was repulsive to the Indian was often congenial to the Englishman.

Difficulties that would have perplexed the professional civil servant trained and aided by the traditions of his service were presented to the unwilling and often ignorant merchant with a demand from his employers for an immediate solution. The Directors' announcement was published on May 11th, 1772, and 3 days later a Committee of Circuit was appointed by the Comptrolling Committee of Revenue in Bengal to settle the revenue of the Company's districts "Eastward of the Ganges" and also to make a tour of the mofussil to report on the methods "best calculated for the permanent interest of the country and our Employers." The minutes of this Committee of Circuit during the time that Warren Hastings was a member, and the minutes of the Board of Revenue in Calcutta, 1772-74, are of much value in illuminating the difficulties that confronted the Collectors of the Revenue and, indeed, of those who paid it.

These difficulties, for the purposes of my brief sketch, may be classified as follows:—

(A) Those that confronted the local Government: by which I mean the Governor and Council in Calcutta.

(B) Those that confronted the individual Company's-Officer, namely, the European Collector in the Company's service.

(C) Those difficulties which faced the Indian collectors of revenue, *e.g.*, Zamindars, Farmers.

The first main difficulty which faced the local Government is recorded in a minute of the Committee of Circuit in which they place on record not only the complete vagueness of the Directors' orders, but also the contradictory nature of them.

" The Hon'ble Court of Directors in their letter declare their determination to stand forth as Dewan and by the agency of the Company's servants to take upon themselves the entire care and management of the revenue ....
By what means this Agency is to be exercised we are not instructed...... ";
the Committee, however, proceed to assume in stately language that the Directors have purposely left all details to be settled by the men on the spot: They then pass on to the next main difficulty, the contradictory nature of the order; ....
" it will scarcely be possible to proceed in a work of this nature without deviating from the orders which have been formerly laid down for our conduct............."

" They (*i.e.*, the Directors) have been pleased to direct a total change of system, and have left the plan of execution of it to the Direction of the Board without any formal repeal of the regulations which they had before framed and adopted to another system, the abolition of which must necessarily include that of its subsidiary institutions........."

(C.C.P. July 28th, 1772.)

Therefore the initial difficulties amounted to the task not only of re-adjusting the whole of the Company's previous regulations—regulations drawn up primarily for commerce,—but also of framing a revenue system which should be just, efficient and profitable. The question of the Revenue they very soon found to be a problem of the first magnitude: to use their own description......... " The revenue is beyond all question the first object of Government, that on which all the rest depend, and to which everything should be made subsidiary." A short study of the revenue conditions as then existing convinced them of the urgent necessity of simpler, juster and better methods of administering civil justice: so that the Committee within a few weeks of commencing their work considered that they had no alternative but to recommend a completely re-organised system of administering justice and of collecting and supervising the Revenue: thus their terms of reference appeared to them to be nothing less than instructions to draw up what amounted to a constitution for Bengal: their proposals may be read in the pages of Colebrooke and Harington, and reflect, in my opinion, the great ability and versatility of the Senior Merchants at that time employed in the Hon'ble Company's service.

These were the two main problems. Others scarcely less important demanded their attention. From the first the unprotected condition of the cultivator attracted their sympathy and active interest: and they took an early step to show these feelings by examining the conditions under which the Ryot held his lease. .... " The Committee being of opinion that the written engagements hitherto entered into by the Farmers of lands have not been drawn up with sufficient exactness and precision, and having considered this as the principal of the oppressions which have been too freely exerted by these men on the ryots, they have agreed on forms for the amul-nama[1] and the kabulyat[2] to be made

[1] An order giving possession.

[2] An agreement or deed given by a tenant to a landlord, as opposed to a *pottah*, the deed given by a landlord to a tenant.

public.........." In a letter from the President of Council to the Court of Directors, dated November 3rd, 1772, the local Government says .... "to prevent such exactions in the future, the Committee formed new amul-namas or leases in which the claims upon the ryots were precisely and distinctly ascertained and the Farmers restricted from any further demands under the severest penalties. To this end and to prevent the Farmers from eluding this restriction they were ordered to grant new pottahs or deeds to the ryots, the form of which was drawn up by the Committee."

The same anxiety for the ryot's welfare is evinced in the instructions issued by the Committee to Lala Dhar Singh Roy, the Company's diwan of the parganas of Akhra. They also, on the receipt of a letter from Mr. Becker which drew their attention to abuses inflicted by agents of the Company's servants in the mofussil, issued an advertisement asking for information about any cases of alleged oppression and directing that such information should be sent to them direct at Kasimbazar or else direct to the Council at Fort William.

These extracts are selected from many others to show how the Committee tried to get into personal and direct touch with the cultivator, the actual payer of the revenue, and to burst through the net woven by the intermediary revenue agents.

Their difficulties did not end merely by drawing up and issuing instructions, even though such instructions were based on local knowledge and common sense. Repeated cases of arrears, and the difficulties of compelling payment were laid before them for orders. The Collector of Hooghly points out certain difficulties in connection with the new lease forms to which reference has already been made. He wishes to be informed whether the pottahs are to be signed by the Farmers or the Zamindars: he supports the Zamindars' claim to sign on the strength of prescriptive custom. Again, are the pottahs to be limited in duration or not ? If not, what is to prevent a Farmer from "entering into collusive engagements with the ryots, and issuing pottahs upon a very inadequate rent, for doing which the ryot will pay him double, or treble the rent formerly paid or bribe him by a separate present." The deeper the Committee probed, the more evidence they found of a lengthy and ingenious system of collusion reaching from the ryot throughout the whole chain of intermediaries to defraud Government of its rightful share of the produce of the land, in a word, of the revenue.

These were the main difficulties of the Committee representing the local Government, and it seems almost inconceivable that a body of able and trained merchants should never have attempted or even discussed the only solution which must have been as obvious to them as the process of stock-taking, namely, an accurate re-measurement and revaluation of the land. They did indeed commence by forming a general *hastobud*, but if I am correct in assuming that the word *hastobud* implies an examination based upon measurement and survey, one is astonished to notice that the *hastobud* so formed by the Committee was done on the existing records of previous measurements, which they must have known were worthless for their purpose. So far as I can find, there is no suggestion of a fresh survey and re-measure-

ment except once in a remarkable letter from Mr. Charles Bentley, Collector of Chittagong, which I shall have occasion to quote later. The result of the early inquiries made by the Committee was to reveal a corruption and dishonesty shared alike by the collecting agents and by the payers of the revenue ; to combat and circumvent collusion rapidly became the main problem of revenue collection in Bengal, a problem that had by no means been solved when the decennial settlement was declared permanent in 1793.

Now we come to the individual Collector, and here again my study of the records leaves me with a very distinct admiration for the ability and versatility of this officer. He was primarily a merchant, his object was trade ; yet in spite of that he seems to have discharged his most difficult duties, if not with success, at least with common sense and humanity.

He was not worried with many forms to fill up, nor many accounts to keep ; but he was responsible for obtaining the amount of revenue for which the farmers had engaged themselves, for knowing his agents, the resources of his district, and for the administration of the Diwani Adalat in his district.

The chief difficulty of the Collector was to get any disinterested help from the leading inhabitants of his district ; the local gentry, for various reasons, refused to assist and so lost very rapidly that position which their duty and their rank alike assigned to them. For instance, the Collector of Hooghly tried to encourage local gentlemen to assist him by undertaking arbitration in civil disputes. "I have encouraged by every possible means this mode of settlement, but have hardly succeeded in a single instance owing to the aversion men have to act in the capacity of arbitrators........the want of assistance is as great as the difficulty in procuring it........" (R.B.P., pages 232—39).

Other instances might be cited. Difficulties were purposely raised by Zamindars. The Collector of Jehanguirpore in a letter to the Board of Revenue writes that "The Zemindar of Jehanguirpore having secreted the papers and accounts of that pargana, so that the farmer is at a loss to carry on the collections and utterly unable to furnish such papers as are from time to time called for. I am to desire," .... etc., etc., that necessary steps may be taken.

Similar complaints of theft and suppression of necessary papers come from the Collector of Nadia and the Council of Revenue at Patna.

The Collector of Jessore reports that the Farmers are alleged to have seized all the Charity Lands—this was an endless source of friction between the incumbent of the land and the Farmer ; and Government had no small interest in the issues involved.

The Collector of Purneah, as also do many other Collectors, reports that owing to the great plentifulness of grain and its consequent cheapness, "the Collections are coming in very slowly and with great difficulty "—because the cultivators cannot sell it. This problem eventually led to Government taking the grain itself as revenue and establishing granaries.

Constant complaints against refractory Zamindars and oppressive farmers are recorded, also of dacoits, and the depredations committed in those districts through which troops were marched.

An interesting difficulty is raised by the Collector of Rangpur. He writes "Having a despatch of Treasure ready, I applied to Jagat Seth's Gomastah as usual to give me a bill of exchange payable in Calcutta, but he has refused doing it, which occasions my requesting you will be pleased to honour me with your instructions. The Collections being made in Narain rupees, which is the only rupee current here and bears no value in the lower part of Bengal." He further states that one district under his control has paid in French Arcot rupees.

This currency question was a very serious one for Collectors ; Colebrooke gives a list, compiled from the Regulations of the Public Department and dated October 24th, 1792, in which no less than 28 different kinds of rupees are enumerated, which were current in Bengal. According to the Public Regulations of 1806, the list had increased to fifty different kinds of current rupees, all varying in value.

The Collector of Rangpur's request for instructions raised a problem which soon became pressing. At a meeting of the Revenue Board on April 13th, 1773, it was decided " to establish a general Bank for Bengal and Behar for the encouragement of trade and the regular payment of the revenues on a batta to be charged of the several species of rupees received from the Zemindars and Farmers." (R.B.P., pages 1222-27).

In addition to the many difficulties of the Collections common to all districts, and the complications involved by the many and various differences in local customs, standards of measurement and systems, it is possible to trace in the minds of collectors a growing suspicion that the revenue agencies which had been established by the Mughal Government were being deliberately employed to deceive the Company and to fog the Company's Agents.

In connection with this subject the Board received a lengthy and important communication from Mr. Edw. Baber, Resident at Midnapur, dated December 13th, 1772. He was discussing the work and duties of the Kanungo. After briefly tracing their origin and history, he points out the accurate and internal knowledge that the Kanungo obtained into the revenue transactions of the Zamindar, and especially of the Zamindar's concealed income :........" it was in the power of the Canungoes to expose the value of their (*i.e.*, the Zamindars') pergunnahs to the Foujdar : this power the Canungoes availed themselves of and it was the rod which they held over them (the Zamindars)........and there was scarcely any terms which the one would impose to which the other would not submit." He then shows how first the Mughal Government and latterly the Company's Government had been dependent on the Kanungoes for much of the knowledge they required in dealing with the Collections, and this still further added to the power of the Kanungoes until........" one innovation paved the way for another, and in process of time it so happened that the Kanungoes manage not only the Zemindars but the business of the province. There is not a record but what is in

their possession nor a paper given in by the Zemindars but through them........ From one step to another they have advanced so far as to gather the chief management of the collections in their own hands, and so much of the executive part have they at last obtained that they are now virtually the Collector while he is a mere passive representative of Government. They are the channel through which all his orders are conveyed........they can dictate what information they choose should be given to the Collector, and they execute their own dictates"........and these officials, as the writer points out, had started as mere registrars, appointed to check the Faujdar's and Zamindar's accounts and to preserve regular records. "After so many years, nay, almost centuries, ought not Government to have obtained from these people the most perfect and intimate knowledge of the nature and value of the Rents (*i.e.*, Revenue)? and will it be believed that at this day it is still in the dark?"

This shrewd and damaging letter concludes by recommending a wholesale abolition of the Kanungo's Office—"they have embarrassed and not developed the business of the Collections; they have been obstacles to the attainment of the knowledge they were meant to facilitate; they have been abettors of measures they ought to have discovered........."

This letter must have awoken many an echo in the hearts of those to whom it was addressed. As business men, of experience and residence, they must have known how completely they depended on certain subordinate officials for knowledge, and how such dependency deprived them of any real powers of estimating and checking the collections. Mr. Baber had laid his finger on the real and main difficulty: but his remedy was destructive: it was reserved for the Collector of Chittagong to suggest a constructive remedy. He was writing on the subject of the difficulty of recovering deficits and discovering unregistered cultivation of waste land. In a letter, dated July 10th, 1773, the Collector writes........"the officers of the Collections will not be proof against the temptation of offers for making favourable reports......... In the confused and disjointed state of the Chittagong lands ....it must have been utterly impossible for any Collector whatever to ascertain the true and real collection of any one Zemindar's district or pargana ....measurement would not only have been expensive but of little or no use had the Collector himself not been present, for venality would have made the same progress as in the last measurement." In those words of Mr. Charles Bentley are summed up the whole reason for the failure of the Company's Collections. The Company's estimates, receipts and methods of collection were all in the dark: the basis of any land revenue must be an accurate knowledge of the land supported by an accurate and honest measurement of the same: the Company never possessed an accurate or an honest measurement because, as the Collector of Chittagong points out, unless the Collector himself was present, any measurement was worthless in any district or pargana. The Collector goes on .... "The point Government has not hitherto gained is a knowledge of the actual collection from the ryots throughout the province (*i.e.*, the Chittagong District) and how much they exceed the established ones paid to Government."

This is corroborated and borne out by a letter from the Collector of Lashkarpur, Mr. Thomas Pattle, an officer in whom Government had much confidence : he writes in June 1773, and complains to the Board that......... "I have great reason to imagine that a much larger sum has been collected than what is included in the Wasil Baki (*i.e.*, Receipts and Balance Account) delivered by the Diwan........" he also urges that the land should be remeasured and a new rent roll formed. The Collector of Birbhum says much the same.

In view of these complaints and recorded suspicions of experienced and shrewd men it is astonishing that the Board of Revenue did not set to work and have trustworthy and accurate measurements taken in a small district for the purpose of testing the general truth of these suspicions.

I must now mention some of the difficulties of the Farmers ; *i.e.*, of the men who farmed the revenue of a certain district.

These are not to be compared to those which confronted the Collector : in many cases the farmers were mere speculators, and in some cases they were dishonest, but they were often considerably handicapped by difficulties which required the attention of the Administration.

Some of these have already been mentioned ; *e.g.*, the opposition of Zamindars by secreting papers and refusing assistance ; the abundant harvests when grain was difficult to sell, and in consequence, specie difficult to obtain for the payment of rent and revenue. Other hardships were what was then described as "loss by diluvion," or the damage done by the washing away of land during the flood season ; moreover, other material damage was caused by floods ; and in this connection it is interesting to note the unanimous demand of Collectors and farmers and cultivators for sums of money to be deducted from the incoming revenue for the purpose of pulbundi, or the building and preservation of bunds ; rather different to the demand of certain anti-railway enthusiasts of to-day. To these demands the Board generally lent a deaf ear, presumably on the grounds that so much illicit deduction was made that lawful deduction should be extremely hard to obtain. They also viewed with disfavour the demands for rebatement on the ground that a district had received much harm from dacoits, and Saniassi dacoits in particular ; dacoity was rampant then to a degree unrealisable to-day, and one has a certain sympathy with the Board's refusal of compensation on the ground that the local inhabitants in general encouraged the dacoits and often shared the plunder.

The Farmer was also exposed to the dishonesty of his employees, and to great difficulties in transporting safely the specie for payment of revenue. It is pleasant to find the Collector of Lashkarpur, Mr. Thomas Pattle, on handing over charge, reporting of the Farmer there "that ever since he entered on his lease he has discharged his rents with the utmost punctuality and exactness........and he has laboured under considerable disadvantage." In many Collector's letters sympathetic references are found to the difficulties of the Farmers.

These are a few of the difficulties that confronted the Company's Officers and agents in collecting the Revenue.

Time does not permit of the bare recital even of the difficulties that faced the unfortunate payer—the ryot : and his side of the story demands a separate treatment. Most of his hardships were crystallised at the Permanent Settlement, and he cannot be said to have received that share of the Government, of which he paid almost the entire cost, until the Tenancy Act of 1859 and the Act of 1885—one hundred years and more after the problem was first propounded by the Directors. Although this is off my point, I purposely mention it because in concluding I wish to emphasise once more that it took a trained service three generations of work to accomplish what was asked of untrained merchants in 1772.

A few Aspects of Education and Literature under the Great Mughals.

(By Beni Prasad, M.A., University Lecturer in Indian History, Allahabad.)

Introduction.

The Middle Ages in European History were long regarded as barren and barbarous, hardly deserving of serious study. The brilliant researches of the 19th century, however, demonstrated that "medievalism" evolved a great system of civilisation from the fusion of classical, Teutonic and Christian elements and made lasting contributions to group-organisation, architecture and, above all, to the development of vernacular languages and literatures. A close study of the historical data, architectural monuments, artistic and literary productions of Medieval India promises to lift the blight from the so-called Muslim period and set down similar achievements to its credit. Writing in the first half of the 11th century, Alberuni, the profoundest of Muslim students of Hindu culture observed "that the Hindus entirely differ from us in every respect."[1] Again, "many Hindu customs differ from those of our country and of our time to such a degree as to appear to us simply monstrous. One might almost think that they had intentionally changed them into the opposite, for our customs do not resemble theirs, but are the very reverse ; and if ever a custom of theirs resembles one of ours, it has certainly just the opposite meaning."[2] If these statements do not hold good to-day, it is partly because the Mughal Empire presided over the evolution of a common Hindu-Muslim culture. During the last 500 years, Indian diet, dress, language, music, painting, architecture, Muslim Sufism and Hindu Bhakti, all represent a blend, of course in varying proportions, of Hindu and Muslim influences. On investigation, the same process appears at work in the domains of education and literature.

The Old Stream of Hindu Life.

The effective working of this process presupposed a vigorous Hindu culture. Indeed, beneath all political changes, the old stream of Hindu life continued to flow with unabated force. In Rajputana, in the Western Ghauts or in the extreme south, there always existed some independent Hindu principalities while the whole country was interspersed with Hindu feudatories. They maintained seats of pure Hindu

[1] Alberuni's India ed. E. C. Sachau, Vol. I, p. 17.
Ibid p. 179.

learning, subsidised literary and scientific academies, both static and peripatetic and generously patronised poetic merit. In Muslim India, too, the Hindus enjoyed social and intellectual independence. Benares, Nadia and other places swarmed with Sanscrit teachers and pupils who, then as now, chiefly cultivated philosophy —with special reference to logic, grammar, literature and medicine.

Sanscrit studies.

Vrindavan Das, author of Chaitanya Bhagvat, says of Nadia :—

"There are hundreds of scholars in it by the grace of Saraswati. There are many professors who are fond of displaying their learning. Even a boy there will challenge a veteran professor to an intellectual discussion. People from various countries flock to the Tols of Navadwipa (Nadia) and when they have finished their studies there, their education becomes complete."[1] Here, as elsewhere, the students and the professors alike maintained themselves from private benefactions, ceremonial gifts and alms. No fees were charged. It is impossible to determine, with any approach to exactness, the number of Sanscrit students, but from the thousands who appear in the recently instituted examination of Benares, Lahore, Jaipur, Patna and Calcutta, in the present very low condition of Sanscrit lore, it may be inferred that they counted by the hundred thousand in Northern India alone.

A glance at the life of Chaitanya gives some idea of intellectual life at Sanscrit seminaries. His mother Shachidevi long refused to send him to school because her elder son had been led by scholarship into asceticism. But the illiterate boy, developing into a nuisance, was at last put to Ganga Das's school where he quickly learnt the alphabet and passed to Sanscrit grammar, logic and philosophy. He routed veteran scholars in intellectual duels. At the age of 20, he set up a school himself and attracted a large number of pupils. Repeatedly he vanquished pandits of all-India fame in philosophic controversy. Scholars like Keshava Kashmiri, flushed with the glories of a hundred fights all over India, fell before him. The fame of the young man and of his Tol filled all Bengal.[2] Next to scholastic tournaments, the composition of commentaries, dissertations and poems formed the most powerful stimulant to higher Sanscrit learning. The vast and varied Sanscrit literary activity has not yet exhausted itself. But it forms a study by itself. Here it is only meant to emphasise that Sanscrit maintained its hold only too long on the Hindu mind. Towards the close of the 15th century, the great protestant Reformer, Kabir, the Chaucer of Hindi literature, felt it necessary to denounce, in vigorous terms, the time-honoured addiction of scholars to the dead language :—

संस्कृतहि पंडित कहै बहुत करैं अभिमान। भाषा जानि तरक करै, ते नर मूढ़ अजान॥

संस्क्रित संसारमें, पंडित करै बखान। भाषाभक्ति दृढ़ावही न्यारापद निरबान॥

संस्क्रित है कूपजल, भाषा बहता नीर। भाषा सतगुरु सहित है, सतमत गहिर गंभीर॥

[1] Dinesh Chandra Sen, *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, pp. 410-411.
[2] *Ibid*, 416-418, 420-422.

that is, in short, it is only the foolish and ignorant, who, priding themselves on Sanscrit learning, neglect the vernacular, for Sanscrit resembles a stagnant pool while the vernacular is like a flowing stream. A century later, the mild Tulsi Das offered an apology for vernacular composition :—

भाषाभनिति भोरि मति मोरी। हंसिबे जोग हंसे नहिं खोरी

that is, his was the vernacular composition and might well be ridiculed. Again

का भाषा का संस्कृत प्रेम चाहियो सांच।

that is, it does not matter whether you employ Sanscrit or the vernacular; it is true devotion that is wanted.

Vernacular Schools.

Sanscrit education forms a compact system by itself, but it rested necessarily on a basis of vernacular instruction. Besides, numbers of boys never passed beyond the vernacular schools. Contemporary literature and European itineraries afford some interesting glimpses into the various types of these chatshálás, as they were called. Pietro della Valle, travelling on the western coast in 1623-4, witnessed a novel method of learning Arithmetic, in a village of poor folk in the Konkan. Having got their lesson from the Master, four boys assembled in the porch of the Temple, where one of them "singing musically with a certain continued tone (which hath the force of making deep impression in the memory) recited part of the lesson; as, for example, 'one by itself makes one' and whilst he was thus speaking he writ down the same number, not with any kind of pen, nor on paper, but (not to spend paper in vain) with his finger on the ground, the pavement being for that purpose strewed all over with fine sand; after the first had writ what he sung, all the rest sung and writ down the same thing together." And so on. "When the pavement was full of figures they put them out with the hand, and, if need were, strewed it with new sand from a little heap which they had before them wherewith to write further. And this they did as long as the exercise continued; in which manner, likewise, they told me they learnt to read and write, without spoiling paper, pens or ink, which certainly is a pretty way .... they exercised together that if one happened to be out, the others might correct him."[1]

The greatest of all Hindi poets, Surdas, who flourished in the 16th century in the country round Agra and Muttra, relates an interesting episode in the life of Prahlad.

पांच वर्षको भई आय। षंडामर्क लियै बुलाय॥ तिनकै संग चटशाल पठायौ। रामनामसौं तिन चित लायौ॥ षंडामर्क रहै पचिहाल। राजनीति कह्यौ बारं बार॥ कह्यौ प्रह्लाद पढ़त मैं सार। कहा पढ़ावत और जंजार॥ जब पंड़े इत उत कहि गये। बालक सब इकठौरे भये॥ . . . . . सब चेटियन ऐसी मन आई। रहै सबै हरिपद चित लाई॥ षंडामर्क रहे संकाय। कह्यौ असुरपति सों पुनि आय॥ तब सुतको पढाय हम हारे। आप न पढ़ै अरु और बिगारे॥[2]

[1] *The Travels of P. Della Valle, Hakluyt edition*, II, 228.

[2] *Sur Sagar* edited by Radhakrisna Das, pp. 58-59. *Sur Sagar* abridged and edited by Beni Prasad p. 31-32.

that is, briefly, at the age of five, Prahlad was sent to the chatshálá of the Brahman Khandamark. But he refused to conform to the usual curriculum. Whenever the teacher moved at all, he would gather all the boys together and preach the cult of devotion. All the boys fervently embraced the new faith. The teacher complained to Hiranyakashipu, the father of Prahlad, that his son not only did not care for the usual instruction but also spoilt the other boys.

Nanak, the founder of Sikhism, was sent by his father Kalu, to the village school, at the age of seven at an auspicious hour fixed by the astrologer. Kalu took from his wife " a coin corresponding to three farthings of English money, some betel nut, and rice and presented them to the schoolmaster with his son........ The schoolmaster wrote the alphabet for Nanak and the latter copied it from memory after one day.[1] Once the master had the occasion to tell Nanak that he knew the Vedas and Shastras, could cast up accounts, post ledgers and day books and strike balances.[2] But the divinely gifted saint, so has the legend, left school, took to private study and meditation and associated with religious men.[3]

Persian and Arabic Schools.

But the guardians of Nanak, anxious to see him in the higher ranks of Government service, forced him into a Persian school presided over by Ruknuddin. Nanak soon astonished his teacher by his knowledge of Persian, which later brought him a store-keepership under Daulat Khan, Governor of the Punjab.[4] It is clear that Hindu aspirants to Government service resorted to Persian and Arabic schools. These were often attached to mosques and supported from royal and private gifts of land and money. Hither flocked the vast majority of Muslim students. The curriculum closely resembled that of Sanscrit Pathesalas, though theology received more and literature less attention. Abul Fazl remarked that in India specially, " boys are kept for years at school." The emperor Akbar sought to provide for the best use of the period by a noble attempt at widening and liberalising the scope of instruction. " Care is to be taken," writes Abul Fazl, " that he (the student) learns to understand every thing himself; but the teacher may assist him a little........Every boy ought to read books on morals, arithmetic, the notation peculiar to arithmetic, agriculture, mensuration, geometry, astronomy, physiognomy, household matters, the rules of Government, medicine, logic, the tabíí, riyazi and ilahi sciences,[5] and history; all of which may be gradually acquired.

" In studying Sanscrit, students ought to learn the Bayakaran, Niyai, Bedanta and Patanjal. No one should be allowed to neglect those things which the present time requires."[6]

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[1] Macauliffe, *Sikh Religion*, Vol. I, pp. 2-3.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 8.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 9.

[4] *Ibid*, pp. 11-12.

[5] " This is the three-fold division of sciences. Ilahi or divine sciences comprise everything connected with theology and the means of acquiring a knowledge of God. Riyazi sciences treat of quantity and comprise mathematics, astronomy, music, mechanics. Tabii sciences comprehend physical sciences." Blochmann's note.

[6] Ain I (Blochmann), pp. 278-279.

We are told that " these regulations shed a new light on schools, and cast a bright lustre over Madrasahs "[1] but the light and lustre seem to have quickly faded away. It may be mentioned in passing that, as every reader of Badauni and Abul Fazl will recall, many an Indian Muslim scholar spent a few years in the highest Muslim seminaries in Mesopotamia and Arabia.

Pedagogues. Regular schools were supplemented by the efforts of pedagogues and religious teachers. " Various professors of every religion and creed have taken up their abode in the city " of Agra, says Jahangir.[2] Hindu and Jain theologians, grammarians and philosophers imparted instruction to every one who cared to approach them at home.

Education at home. Many educated men chose to teach their sons at home. It was under the fostering care of his father, Shaikh Mubarak, that the infant prodigy, Abul Fazl, ' matured into brilliant manhood'. A character, Brahman for the time being, in Tulsi Das, says :—

प्रौढ़ भये मोहि पिता पढ़ावा। समुझउँ सुनहुँ गुनउ नहिं भावा॥

प्रेममगन मोहि कछु न सुहाई। हारेउ पिता पढ़ाइ पढ़ाई॥

that is, briefly, as he grew to boyhood his father undertook to teach him but, absorbed in the love of Rama, he liked nothing else.

Education among the nobility. Aristocrats, Hindu and Muslim alike, engaged learned private tutors for their sons and daughters. Readers of Maasir-ul-umara will recall that many of the higher officers were versed in literature, history, theology and the natural sciences.

Education in the Imperial Family. No family in the Empire was more solicitous for the culture of its scions than the reigning Mughal dynasty. Babur, Humayun, Jahangir, Shah Jahan, Aurangzeb and other princes were men of thorough education and profound culture. Akbar, though formally illiterate, absorbed through the ear a wonderful amount of sacred and profane lore. Female education was zealously fostered in the Mughal family. Gulbadan Begam, a daughter of Babur, wrote charming memoirs. Sultan Salima Begam, Nur Jahan, Mumtaz Mahal, Zebunnisa Begam and others were facile versifiers.[3]

Tutor and pupil. The whole system of education through paid teachers ran counter to the antique Hindu ideal which required disciples to live in poverty and humility with the master, to revere and adore him and to help in supporting him and his family by alms. Vyas, a Hindi poet of the

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[1] Ain I (Blochman), p. 279.

[2] Jahangir (Rogers and Beveridge), I, p. 7.

[3] Skrine and Ross, *Heart of Asia*, 109-172, 179-180. *Turak-i-Timuri* (E. and D.) III, 389-473 *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (Elias and Ross) pp. 173-174. Erskine, *History of India* I, 521. *Memoirs of Babur*, Erskine, p. 291. Badauni (Ranking) I, 449-451. Gulbadan Begam (Humayan Begam). tr. Annette S. Beveridge pp. 124-125. Khondamir *Humayundama* (E. and D.) V, 120-122. Nizamuddin E. and D. V, 240. Blochmann 538. Von Noer *Akhbar* I, p. 136. - N. N. Law, *Promotion of Learning in India during Mahomedan rule* Part II. Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, Ch. I.

16th century, bantered the modern system in which a penniless pedagogue sometimes caters for the needs of wealthy, luxurious folk.

गरुहि न मानत चेली चेला ।
गुरु रोटी पानी कों घूंटत शिष्य कें दूध पियै कुकरेला ।
शिष्य के तौ सोनेके बासन गुरु की कुंडी कुंडेला ।
चोर चिकनि पीन बड़ आदर गुरु की ठेली ठेला ।
शिष तौ माथीचूसा सुनियत गुरु पुन खाल उचेला ।
यह कायर वह कृपण छतौना ईंट मारि दिखरावत भेला ।
कृष्ण कृपा बिनु बिव असमंजस दुख सागर में मेलौ मेला ।
व्यास आस जे करहि शिष्य की तिनते भले मुंडेला ॥[1]

that is, in short, the teacher receives no respect from his disciples. He lives on mere bread and water, while they nourish their dogs on milk. He is content with earthenware while they use gold vessels. He seeks to fleece while they are stinginess embodied. The teacher and disciples alike fall to wrangling and ruin.

Literature.

Contemporary literature corresponds, in its various branches, to the different systems of education.

Hindu literature away from the courts.

With the aid of repeated laborious translations, Abul Fazl, writing towards the close of the 16th century, gives an account of contemporary Sanscrit lore in the domains of geography, astronomy, mythology, philosophy, literature, prosody, law, politics, theology, ethics, sociology and the traditional 18 sciences besides the Jain and Buddhist learning.[2] All this received little patronage from the Muslim courts. Likewise numerous vernacular poets ignored or studiously avoided the princely courts. The voluminous writings of Sur Das and Tulsi Das who lived not far from Agra and Fatehpur Sikri, contain not a single direct reference to contemporary political events. Kumbhan Das, one of the Vaishnava Ashtachhap, once accepted Akbar's invitation to Sikri but did not see his way to comply with later summonses. Said he :—

सन्तन का सिकरी सन काम ।
आवत जात पनहियां टूटी बिसरि गयो हरि नाम ।
जिनको मुख देखे दुख उपजत तिनको करिबे परी सलाम ।
कुम्भनदास लाल गिरिधर बिन और सबै बे काम ॥

that is, what have saints to do with Sikri ? The distance wears off shoes. "I shall have to salute those the sight of whose face distresses me. Says Kumbhandas, except Krishna all else is useless." The repugnance to Persian and Arabic was summed up thus :—

न पठेद्यावनी भाषां प्राणैः कण्ठगतैरपि ।

that is, the study of these languages is to be resisted even at the risk of life.

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[1] Vyas-ji-ki Bani, Chhatarpur MS., p. 95.
[2] Ain-i-Akbar tr. Jarrett' Vol. III.

But hundreds of Hindi poets, even of the highest order, far from sharing this high disdain, loved to bask in the sunshine of royal favour. Nipat Niranjan is said to have been visited by Akbar. Ganga eulogises both Akbar and Jahangir. Manohar Das of the Shekhawat Kachhwaha clan, was a favourite with Akbar and composed both in Persian and Hindi. Jahangir remarks that "although from him up to Adam the power of understanding cannot be attributed to any one of his Tribe, he is not without intelligence."[1] Of this small amount of intelligence, the emperor showed his appreciation by promoting him to high rank and, after his death, by favouring his son.[2] In Hindi he composed an excellent ode to Akbar :—

Court Patronage of Hindi under Akbar (1556-1605).

अकबर सों बर कौन नर नरपति पति हिंदुवान।
करम चहत जेहि करन सो लेन दान सनमान॥
अचरज मोहिं हिन्दू तुरक वादि करत संग्राम।
यक दीपति सों दीपियत काबा काशी धाम॥

meaning that even as the lord of Hindus, Akbar was superior to Hindu monarchs and deprecating Hindu-Muslim strife as the same divine lustre shone on Kashi and Kaaba. Holaray expressed his gratitude for a grant of land by a spirited song on the glories of Akbar's court.

दिल्ली ते न तख़्त ह्वैहै बख़्त ना मुग़ल कैसो ह्वैहै ना नगर बढ़ि आगरा नगर ते।
गंग ते न गुनी तानसें न तानवान मान ते न राजा औ न दाता बीर बर ते॥
खान ख़ानख़ाना ते न नर नरहरि ते न ह्वैहै ना दिवान कोऊ बेडर टडर ते।
नवौ खंड सात दीप सातहू समुद्र पार ह्वैहै ना जलालुदीन शाह अकबर ते॥

that is, never will there be a dominion like that of Delhi nor such times as those of the Mughals, nor a city greater than Agra, nor a man of gifts like Ganga, nor a musician like Tansen, nor a raja like Man Singh, nor a donor like Birbal. Never will there be a Khan like the Khan Khanan, nor a man like Akbar, nor a fearless minister like Todar Mal. In the nine worlds, in the seven continents across the seven seas never will there be a king like Jalaluddin Shah Akbar. Ban Pathak is believed to have obtained a jagir in Arad. Ganga Bhat, one of the forerunners of modern Hindi prose, Man Rai, a bard of Asani, Ganga Prasad of Etawah, Jaitram, Jagamag and Amritray might be mentioned among the other recipients of Akbar's favour (1556-1605). Akbar himself is said to be a Hindi versifier though the evidence on the point is not conclusive. It is undisputed, however, that Birbal and the Khan Khanan were not only poets themselves but munificent patrons of literature.

The traditions of Akbar's court were maintained by Jahangir. "Shanqi the maudlin player," he writes, "is the wonder of the age. He also sings Hindi and Persian songs in a manner that clears the rust from all hearts. I delighted him with the title of Anand Khan; Anand in the Hindi language means pleasure and ease."[3] Poetic merit secured

Jahangir (1605-27).

[1] Jahangir (R. and B.) I, 17.
[2] *Ibid* I, 112, 231, 321.
[3] *Ibid* I, 422.

Puhkar's release from prison at his hands. Keshava Das, one of the greatest of Hindi poets, was devoted to Jahangir as the benefactor of his patron Bir Singh Deva Bundela. His lives of both the potentates lack the concentrated vigour and fire of his *Ram Chandrika* and *Rasikpriya* but are not wholly devoid of literary merit. Tradition has it, though wrongly, that he received 6 lacs of rupees for a verse from Birbal and that he got Akbar to excuse his patron a fine of a crore of rupees. Buta, *alias* Brikhray, was another of the numerous Hindi poets favoured by Jahangir (1605-27).

Shahjahan (1627-1658).

The magnificent Shah Jahan deserves a high place not only in the history of art but also in that of literature. Kavindracharya wrote an ode, *Kavindrakalpalata* of 150 stanzas, to him and his sons. The poet speaks thus of the emperor's Delhi :—

मंदर ते ऊंचे मनि मंदिर ए सुन्दर हैं मेदिनी पुरन्दर की पुर दरसत है ।
हिये में हुलास होत नगर बिलास लखि रूप कयलास हू ते अति सरसत है ॥
दुंदुभि मृदंगनाद विविध सुवाद जहां साहिजहांबाद अति सुख बरसत है ।
छहो ऋतु छाई छाजै आछी छबि देखन को मानष को कहा कहै इन्द्र तरसत है ॥

that is, these beautiful palaces, set with jewels, are loftier than mount Mandar. This is the city of the Indra (king of gods) of this earth. The joys of the city gladden the heart ; its beauty is superior to that of Kailash. Shahjahanbad, resounding with excellent drums and music, is a fountain of the highest happiness. Here the bounties of six seasons are present. What of man, Indra himself sighs for a sight of this superb beauty. Sundar of Gwalior was styled Kaviray and then Mahakaviray by the emperors. Among the other Hindi poets who adorned his court might be mentioned Shiromani, Harnath, Vedangaray and Banwari.

Aurangzeb (1658-1707).

In this noble tradition, Aurangzeb's reign marks an unfortunate break but even Hindi literature seems to have lingered for a while at his court. Sukhadeva Misra, Kalidas Trivedi and Indraji Tripathi celebrate his greatness or his exploits—a fact which seems to show that they were patronised either by him or by his nobles. For the example of the emperor had always been followed by the nobility. For instance, Abdur Rahím Khánkhánán had patronised not only Persian poets but also Hindi poets like Prasiddha.

Disappointments of poets.

As might be expected occasionally a poet disappointed or baffled of his reward burst forth into bitter invective and satire. Thus the bard Karnesh at the court of Akbar :—

खात हैं हराम दाम करत हराम काम   धाम धाम तिनहीं के अपजस छावैंगे ।
दोजखमें जैहैं तब काटि २ कीड़े खैहैं   खोपड़ी को गूद काक ठोंट न उड़ावैंगे ॥
कहै करनेस अबै घूसि खात लाजैं नहिं   रोजा औ नेमाज अन्त काम नहि आवैंगे ।
कबिन के मामिलेमें करैं जौन खामी तौन   निमकहरामी मरे कफ़न न पावैंगे ॥

that is, these accursed rascals who take bribes and defraud poets of their dues, will be defamed from house to house. Cast into hell, they will be eaten by worms and their brains picked by crows. Neither fasts nor prayers will save them. On death

not a shroud will be available to them. An unknown poet, rewarded by Aurangzeb with an old worn-out female elephant, says :—

तिमिर लंग लई मोल चली बाबर के हलके ।
रही हुमायूं संग गई अकबर के दलके ॥
जहांगीर जस लियो पीठि को भार हटायो ।
साहजहां करि न्याव ताहि पुनि माड़ चटायो ॥
बल रहित भई पौरुष थक्यो भगी फिरत बन स्यार डर ।
औरंगजेब करिनी सोई लै दीन्हीं कविराज कर ॥

that is, the beast had been purchased by Tamarlane and had served in the expeditions of Babur, Humayun and Akbar. Jahangir had relieved her of work. Shah Jahan had fed her on rice. Old and feeble, she would now run in fear of jackals. Of her Aurangzeb had made a present to the king of poets.

Gratitude to Mughals.

It is remarkable that vernacular poets who owed nothing to the Mughals are sometimes as enthusiastic in admiration of them as their own protégés, apparently in gratitude for the peace, order and tolerance which they had established. In Bengali household almanacs, referred to by Mr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, Akbar is mentioned with Yudhisthira, Mahipal and Lau Sen among the greatest emperors of the Kaliyuga.[1] Contemporary Jain MSS., preserved in the Jain Siddhanta Bhavan, Arrah, eulogise the Mughal emperors in their places. Madhavacharya, in his Bengali Chandi Mangal, refers to Akbar in terms of high praise.[2]

Interpretation of Hindu thought.

The presence of Hindi littérateurs served partly to interpret Hindu thought to Muslims. More direct means, however, were adopted by the emperors to serve the great end. Hindu scriptures, epics, didactic poems, chronicles, astronomical and scientific works were translated into Persian. Abul Fazl compiled a synopsis of Hindu lore. It is not proposed here to refer to the stupendous Persian literary activity, chiefly in the domains of poetry, history, memoir and biography, to which Abul Fazl, Badauni, Jahangir, Motamad Khan, Abdul Hamid and the rest of court chroniclers and writers bear eloquent witness but a word must be said about the remarkable line of Muslim Hindi poets.

Muslim Hindi poets.

They number by the hundred. They all caught the tone of Hindu literature and some of them imbibed Hindu sentiment. Thus a Muslim lady Taj sings :—

सुनो दिलजानी मेड़े दिल की कहानी तुम दस्त ही बिकानी बदनामी भी सहूंगी मैं ।
देव पूजा ठानी मैं निमाज़ हू भुलानी तजे कलमा कुरान साड़े गुनन गहूंगी मैं ॥
स्यामला सलोना सिरताज सिर कुल्ले दिये तेरे नेह दाग मैं निदाग हो दहूंगी मैं ।
नन्द के कुमार कुरबान तोड़ी सूरत पै तोड़ नाल प्यारे हिन्दुवानी हो रहूंगी मैं ।।

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[1] *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, p. 52.
[2] *Ibid*, 335-336.

दुष्ट जन मारि सतजन रखवारि ताज चित हित वारि प्रेम प्रीति करवारा है।
नन्द जू का प्यारा जिन कंस को पछारा वह वृन्दावन वारा कृष्ण साहेब हमारा है॥

that is, "my dearest friend, hear the story of my heart. To you I have sold myself; I shall bear all notoriety. I have resolved on the worship of (Hindu) gods; I have forgotten the Muslim prayer. I have renounced all Kalama and Quran......" To Krishna she surrenders herself and in Krishna's love she wants to live like a Hindu lady. Krishna, the slayer of the wicked and the protector of the virtuous, is her god and so on. With equal poetic fervour Rasakhan, a devotee of Krishna, sings :—

मानुस हौं तो वही रसखानि बसौं ब्रज गोकुल गांव के ग्वारन।
जो पसु हौं तो कहा बस मेरो चरौं नित नन्द कि धेनु मंझारन॥
पाहन हौं तो वही गिरि को जो भयो ब्रज छत्र पुरन्दर कारन।
जो खग हौं तो बसेरो करौं उन कालिन्दी कूल कदम्ब कि डारन।

that is, if in my future birth, I am born a man, may I live among the villagers of Braj and Gokul! If I am born an animal, may I graze every day with the cows of Nanda! If I am born a stone, may I form part of the hill which became an umbrella for Braj against Indra! If I am born a bird, may I nestle in the branches of Kadamba on the banks of the Jumna!

If he had not introduced his name into every stanza, Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan's verses which will last as long as the Hindi idiom endures, might have passed for the work of any Hindu teacher of wisdom. Qadir's गुन ना हिरानो गुन गाहक हिरानो है "merit is not lost, only the appraiser of merit is lost," has passed into a proverb. Tahir, Ahmad, Usman, Husain, Saheh, Alam, Rangarezin, Abdur Rahman, Karim, Rahim, Zulfiqar Khan and Azam Khan might be mentioned among other Muslim Hindi poets.

Persian influence on Hindi.

Thanks to these poets, to the court-patronage of Hindi literature and above all, to the all round process of the evolution of a Hindu-Muslim culture, Hindi language, style and literature were deeply influenced by Persian and Arabic. Tradition credits Kabir with wanderings into Balkh and Bokhara and Nanak with protracted visits to Kamrup, Ceylon and Arabia. Probably it is all romance but there can be no doubt that they, like other Hindu reformers, were in close touch with Muslim scholars and thinkers. The fervent Bhakti or devotion, the dominant motive of the best vernacular literature, assumed its peculiar medieval form from the contact of Hindu spiritualism with Muslim mysticism. Hindi etymology is saturated with Persian. Sur Das, neither a courtier nor a friend of courtiers, has verses like the following :—

सांचो सो लिखवार कहावै। काया ग्राम मसाहत करिकै जमा बांधि ठहरावै। मन यह तो करि कैद अपने में ज्ञान गहतिया लावै। मांड़ि मांड़ि खरिहान क्रोध को पोता भजन भरावै। बट्टा काट कसूर भर्म को फरद तलै लै डारै। निश्चय एक असल पै राखै टरै न कबहू टारै। करि अवारजा प्रेम प्रीति क

अमल तहां खतियावै। दूजी करद दूरि करिहै यतन कत मैं आवे। मुजमिल जोर ध्यान कुल का हरि सों तहं ले राखे। निर्भय रूपे लोभ छांड़ि कै सोई वारिज राखै। जमा ख़र्च नीके करि राखै लेखा समुझि बतावे। सूर आप गुजरान मुसाहिब लै जवाब पहुंचावै ॥[1]

Again,

प्रभु जु मैं ऐसो अमल कमायो। साबिक जमा हुती जो जोरी मिनजालिक तल लायो। वासिलबाकी स्याहा मुजमिल सब अधर्म की बाकी। चित्रगुप्त होत मुस्तौफ़ी शरण गहूं मैं काकी। पांच मुहरिर साथ करि दीने तिन की बड़ी बिपरीत। जिम्मे उनके मांगे मोते यह तौ बड़ी अनीत। पांच पचीस साथ अगवानी सब मिलो काज बिगारै। सुनी तगीरी मेरी बिसरि गई सुधि मो तजि भये नियारे। बढ़ो तुम्हार बरामद हूं को लिखि कीनी है साफ़। सूरदास की यहै बीनती दस्तक कीजै माफ़ ॥[2]

Times without number he uses Persian and Arabic terms like जहा, लायक़, ताज, दाम, सुजह, ख़ाली, शहर, गुमान, साहब, साहिबी, बख़्श, ख्याल, शरम, तमाशा, खुमारी, ख़सम, शोर, ग़रीब, हजूर, नफ़ा, चुगली, खबर, बाग़, दाग़, ख़ानाज़ाद, गुलाम, हरामी, कुलफ़, ग़ैर निशान, दुश्मन, बाकी, दरवाज़ा, गिरहबाज़, गुस्सा, कीना, खर्च, जहर, सरदार, अंदेशा, ज़ोर, होशियार, बेहाल,[3]

Like Sur Das, Tulsi Das abounds in Persian words and sometimes adds prefixes or suffixes to them as if they were pure Hindi terms, thus forming सुसाहिब, अलायक, ग़रीब, निवाज etc. Persian and Arabic terms like निवाज़, ग़रीब, ज़ोर, साहिब, ख्याल, नरम, शरम, क़बूल, बाज़ीगर, दरबार, जहान, शाह, ग़रीब, ज़ोर, ग़रज़, दाग, ख़र्च, गुमान, जौहर, भाग़, नफ़ीर, निशान, बाज़ार, सराफ, गुमान, फ़ज़ीहत, गुलाम, सिरताज, ख़ास, फ़हम, ख़बर, शाह, अफ़सर, साज abound in his *Ram Charitnans*, *Dohavali*, *Hanumannatak* and other works. His *Vinayapatrika* is one of the most Sanscritised works in Hindi but it is not altogether free from the admixture of Persian. All other Hindi poets of every rank and order share these characteristics of Sur Das and Tulsi Das.

As an instance of Persian influence on Hindi style, it is enough to refer to Hindi love poetry. Amir Khusrau, a star of the first magnitude in Indo-Persian literature, had, as early as the 13th century, composed in Hindi after the Persian model. Besides his purely Hindi poetry, we have his verses partly Persian and partly Hindi. Thus :—

ज़े हाले मिस्कीं मकुन तग़ाफल दुराये नैना बनाये बतियां।
कि ताबे हिजरां न दार् मैजां न लेह काहे लगाय छतियां॥
शबाने हिजरां दराज़ चूं ज़ुल्फ़ो रोज़े वस्लत चु उम्र कोता।
सखी पिया को जो मैं न देखूं तो कैसे काटूं अंधेरी रतियां॥

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[1] *Sur Sagar* ed. Radhakrishna Das, p. 14.

[2] *Ibid* p. 14.

[3] *Ibid* pp. 17, 20, 21, 23, 33, 43, 44, 53, 74, 89, 90, 95, 99, 103, 104, 132, 137, 142, 159, 162, 163, 172, 173, 177, 180, 184, 193, 195, 197, 204, 206, 207, 208, 214, 216, 219, 224, 225, 228, 230, 231, 235, 239, 241, 243, 244, 247, 248, 249, 251, 255, 256, 257, 259, 263-264, 268, 269, 271, 272, 276, 281, 289, 292, 294, 300, 305, 307, 308, 309, 320, 321, 323, 326, 329, 330, 331, 335, 336, 338, 341, 342, 344, 345, 350, 357, 359, 360, 362, 363, 365, 366, 373, 375, 376, 378, 379, 380, 392, 395, 397, 398, 399, 400, 413, 427, 430, 453, 454, 456, 459, 460, 463, 471, 473, 483, 486, 487, 497, 502, 505, 507, 509, 510, 513, 515, 520, 521, 523, 526, 528, 529, 530, 536, 537, 542, 550, 552, 554, 555, 557, 559, 561, 572, 575, 577, 578, 589.

Sur Sagar abridged and edited. Beni Prasad, 24, 86, 87, 88, 128, 135, 143, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160-161, 165, 194, 202, 204, 248, 249, 253, 257, 265, 268, 270, 271, 278, 292, 299, 352, 353, 386, 416.

His striking Khalakbari, an elementary Hindi-Persian dictionary in verse, is well known. Khusrau's contemporary Mulla Daud wrote a love-story of Nurak and Chanda in verse. The poetry which tradition attributes, perhaps wrongly, to the emperor Akbar, is Persian in style. Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan, though Hindu in his didactic poetry, is Persian in his erotic verse. The following stanza, for example, is directed, after the Persian style, to a boy :—

कलित ललित माला, वा जवाहिर जड़ा था। चपल चखन वाला, चांदनी में खड़ा था॥
कटि तट बिच मेला, पीत सेला नवेला। अलिबन अलबेला, यार मेरा अकेला॥

In the early 18th century Sital addressed his *Gulzar Chaman* to a boy, Lal Bihari, whom he pretended to regard as the symbol of the Divinity. Not only is he prolific in the use of Persian and Arabic terms but his sentiment, style and often his allusions are of Persian origin. Thus :—

बरनन करने को क्या बरनूं बरनूंगा जेती बानी है।
यह तीन उम्र के पड़े हुये जानी यह यूसुफ़ सानी है॥
ससि भवन जीव सफ़री में गुरु कन्या बुध ज्योतिष गामी है।
इस लाल बिहारी को सीतल क्या अर्ध चन्द्र पेशानी है॥

Here the poet first expresses his inability to describe Lal Bihari's beauty, then compares him to Yusuf, to constellations and finally his forehead to the half moon.

Bihari's *Satsai* (or Seven Hundred verses), universally acknowledged to be one of the most beautiful productions of the Hindu poetic genius, is not addressed to a boy. But, though composed in the Hindu state of Amber, the modern Jaipur, it is throughout Persian in sentiment. It is significant that it was Azam Shah who gave the *Satsai* the arrangement which it still retains and which is called Azam Shahi after him.

Urdu Literature.

These tendencies, century-old and powerful, had only to be refined and clothed in Persian alphabet to produce the splendid Urdu literature of the 18th century. When the history of that literature comes to be written, it will be seen, in its origin, to be a continuation of an important phase of Hindi literature.

Common Characteristics in vernacular literatures.

Not only Hindi and Urdu but all vernacular literatures in medieval India display common characteristics of phraseology, tone, sentiment, temper and mood. The fundamental geographical and cultural unity of India and the ever present influence of Sanscrit are largely responsible for the happy similarities. But a great deal must be attributed to the prevailing Hindu-Muslim admixture and to the Mughal Government which established peace, order and security throughout Northern India and made the intercourse of poets, scholars, philosophers and artists possible from one end of the country to another.

Conclusion.

To the influence of Muslim sovereigns, indeed, the progress of vernacular literatures owes a good deal. The "elevation of Bengali to a literary status," says Mr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, "was brought about by several influences, of which the Mohammadan conquest was

undoubtedly one of the foremost. If the Hindu kings had continued to enjoy independence, Bengali would scarcely have got an opportunity to find its way to the courts of Kings."[1] And apart from the courts of kings, the forces set in motion by the contact of two civilisations brought the popular dialects to the front and determined the contents and methods of their literatures.

The Army Organization of Akbar.

(By Ram Prasad Tripathi, M.A., M.R.A.S., etc., University of Allahabad.)

Akbar's military organization has been discussed by a number of great scholars headed by Mr. Blochmann who with Major Raverty still holds a very high position among the Persian scholars of the British Empire. The late Mr. Irvine whose work on the Army of the Moghals has rightly come to be regarded as a classic, has thrown some flashes of light on the question, but his plan did not admit of any detailed consideration of the army of Akbar; hence we have been deprived of a most valuable discussion which his stupendous scholarship might have brought to bear upon it. It is admitted that some darkness hangs over the problem, and this fact might be taken as a reasonable justification for opening up the whole question once more.

Humayun, the father of Akbar, on his return to India brought an army more heterogenous than that of Baber, consisting, as it did, of the Persians, Turks and Afghans who grouped themselves round their respective tribal leaders who had their own systems of organization, their peculiar sympathies and antipathies, different social and religious outlook, and, worst of all, were mutually exclusive and hated one another. The problem before Humayun was therefore as serious as it was in the time of Islam Shah and his successor, and if Humayun had lived longer he might have adopted some measures to give this conglomeration of tribal units an organic unity; but he tumbled out of life so unexpectedly and suddenly that the matter was made worse confounded. The political supremacy of the Persians combined with the systematic disregard and even suppression of the Turkish element, ended in a revolution, which but for the tactfulness of the Emperor and some of his intimate associates, and the loyalty of the Indian Muhammadans, might have spelt ruin to the infant Empire.

The political condition of Badakhshan and Kabul had made any substantial help from that quarter well nigh impossible, while the attitude of the Uzbek leaders in India was getting more and more suspicious day by day; and, to make matters worse, some of his own nobles behaved in a most objectionable manner. In his anxiety Akbar's catholic mind turned naturally towards the Indian Muhammadans and the Hindus, and suggested

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[1] *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, p. 10.

and traditional loyalty proved of an immense value to the Empire. The reliance on Indian Muhammadans and the Hindus, as a set off against foreign tribes and tribal leaders, was, by no means, a new inspiration, for it had been conceived by Islam Shah, and carried out by him and his successor Mubariz Khan Adil Shah; but there is no evidence to show that any other ruler prior to Akbar even went to the extent of admitting Rajput contingents as a part and parcel of the Imperial Army.

The rebellion of the Uzbeks, the recalcitrant attitude of Asaf Khan, the experiences which the Emperor gained in his wars in Gujrat and Bihar, forced upon his attention the lack of efficiency and organization of the army; so he set himself to the task of overhauling it in its entirety, and putting it on a systematic basis. The army had not yet outgrown trial basis; the organization was ludicrously simple. While some high officers had a handful of followers, others, lucky men, of the same rank had more than what was indicated by their rank. They raised their own troops on conditions determined by them, and charged from the state stipends at the rate of 30, 20 and 15 rupees for every soldier, but they kept to themselves as much as they possibly could. These officers again were largely paid in Jagirs in which they enjoyed a kind of autonomy and independence, which was inconsistent with good government and efficiency. This practice had come into vogue since the days of Firoz Shah Tughlaq who altered the principles on which Alauddin Khilji, and even the erratic Muhammad Tughlaq, had based their military administration.

The system of descriptive rolls had proved entirely inadequate; so Akbar communicated some of his ideas to Muzaffar Khan, the Vakil of the Empire at the time, who opposed it, probably on the ground that they would raise a tremendous opposition of the big nobles, and thus would defeat their object. Akbar retorted by forcing him to lay down the seal; and with the help of Todar Mal and Shahbaz Khan, who was made Mir Bakhshi, he matured a plan, and determined to carry it through. The most important features of it were the revival of the branding system, and the concentration of appointments, salaries, stipends, and promotions into the hands of the Emperor.

Although the plan was ready in 1574 no attempt was made to enforce it till 1575, probably because there was a military deadlock in Bengal, and the field-marshal of the Bengal army, Munim Khan, was believed to be against it. In 1575 the introduction of the Dagh system, the institution of cash payments in place of payments in Jagir, and a reshuffling of ranks, were announced, but their operations were confined for the time to northern India only from Jaunpur to Lahore. Bengal, Bihar, Malwa and Gujrat were for the time being left out of account.

By the new regulations the officers were required to bring their horses and accoutrements (یراق) to the Bakhshis, and get them branded, before their salaries could be fixed. They were to be paid, month by month, from the

Khazanai Amira, were to pass the muster in full array, when required to go on active service, and at least once a year in the ordinary course. As a rule, any new candidate for higher services had to begin his career with the mansab of twenty and had to perform the duties of mounting guards (جار-ملجار, وکشک) according to given instructions. In case of satisfactory behaviour, and enlisting his full quota, he was promoted further without any distinction of caste, creed or religion. The number of his personal retainers and equipments, as also of the horsemen under his command, was fixed by the Emperor. For example, a mansabdar of twenty had to maintain from his own salary five horses of specified classes, one fourth class elephant, six camels and one cart; four *chahar aspah*, six *sih aspah*, six *do aspah* and four *yak aspah*, in all 20
four *chahar aspah*, six *sih aspah*, six *do aspah* and four *yak aspah* in all 20
men and 50 horses. It was later on modified inasmuch as the system of *chahar aspa* was abolished, and instead of six *do aspah* and 4 *yak aspah* eight *do aspah* and six *yak aspah* were required. This rule was technically known as *lah bisti* or 10 : 20, and held good for all grades of Mansabdars from 10 upwards.

In 1575 Aziz Koka was called to the court, but he opposed the new regulations, and his attitude delayed their introduction in Malwa and Gujrat till 1579 and 1578 respectively. In 1579 an attempt was made to introduce them in Bihar and Bengal but the selfishness, tactlessness, obstinacy and strictness exhibited by the Imperial officials entrusted with the task, even contrary to the Emperor's instructions, resulted in a serious mutiny which lasted for many years, and was suppressed with some difficulty and great sacrifice.

These reforms, however, did not prove quite comprehensive, and some of the evils which they were designed to remedy still persisted. Its chief drawback was that it did not improve the lot of the common soldier, or prevent the cunning people from deceiving the government by clothing their servants in borrowed military dress, and bringing them for musters on borrowed horses branded with marks. Again, it was found that in the first rush for recruitment to higher ranks, some had managed to temporarily raise the required number of horse which they could or would not maintain. Therefore, new devices were adopted. The system of uniform marks on horses was given up for numerals indicating the number of times a horse came up to musters; and then finally, separate numerals were fixed for princes, governors of provinces, high dignitaries and mansabdars. With regard to their stipends it was made a rule that no salaries or increments were to be paid unless the horses had been branded; and delays in getting them duly marked and registered, were punished with heavy fines.

The rules of recruitment were also substantially modified. Except in the case of Adhis, it was no longer necessary for an individual candidate for the rank of soldiers to bring his own horse. He now appeared before the Bakhshi, who presented him, on Monday, before the Emperor, who rejected

or approved him. In the latter case his class was fixed, and he was provided with a horse of that class, which was duly branded, and with other accoutrements; and the price of all these things was deducted in easy instalments from his salary.

Besides his fixed salary, with a view to encourage him, every soldier was given annually something by way of reward according to his merits. Services in distant provinces and difficult or unhealthy regions were allowed substantial allowances, which ranged sometimes to 100 per cent. The rules of salaries and allowances being well known, the soldiers insisted on full payment: a case is recorded when a high mansabdar was killed for having tried to tamper with them.

In order to keep a full control over the details of military administration a Board of three officers was established in 1583, but it is not known how it worked and how long did it last.

The Constitution of the Army.

The Army was divided into two classes—the feudal levies of the Zemindars and Rajas, and the Regular Army. The troops furnished by the Zemindars and Rajas were of course organized on clannish basis, which was the only possible way of securing their services, by the Rajas themselves, who followed their own traditional methods. These troops were not merely a rabble, but were distinguished by a high sense of honour, unflinching loyalty, extraordinary courage, and a cynical disregard for life. The Rathors, the Chauhans, the Jados, the Solankis, the Kachwahas and the Guhlots were some of the most important clans mentioned in the order of their numerical strength. It is difficult to say what was their actual number, though we are told that their total was as high as 44 lacs. But never was this whole force mustered, probably because it was as difficult as needless to call all of them, though there is no doubt that some of these troops were required to serve in some campaign or the other.

The Regular Army was sub-divided into three big classes, *viz.*, the Household troops, Mansabdars, Dahbashi. These all were grouped under "horsemen" to distinguish them from the "non-horsemen."

The Mansabdars.—The system of mansabdars or officers organized into a graded hierarchy, was by no means entirely unknown in India; for reference to fards, girohdars, officers of 5, 10 and 20 thousand are found in the works of Abdulla, Abdul Haq, and Abdul Qadir. The points of difference were, that Akbar, with his characteristic fondness for details, organized them in a far more systematic way, and, with a view to prevent the extraordinary and dangerous growth of the powers of the grandees, would, as a rule, not give them a higher command than that of 5,000. Mansabs over 5,000 were practically reserved for scions of the royal house: there was no rank over 12,000.

The distinction of Zat and Sawar, and the salaries of mansabdars are two questions round which controversy has been raging. Blochmann held that the word Zat indicated the brevet rank, while Sawar connoted the actual number of cavalry under the command of an officer. But Irvine, on more convincing grounds, maintains that the "Sawar" rank had nothing to do with the actual number under the command of an officer, but "was an honour," and indicated the actual number of horsemen over and above those of the Zat. If this hypothesis were accepted then the distinction which Akbar wanted to keep in practice would vanish, for, officers like Man Sinha and Aziz Koka, who held ranks of 7,000 Zat and 6,000 Sawar, would enjoy higher status than even the Crown prince who had only Zat rank of 10,000 without any Sawar. Not only these but Qulich Khan who had 5,000 Zat and 5,000 Sawar would come up to the position of Prince Salim. Then again, it is very curious that not only the contemporary Persian authorities but the European travellers also do not mention this double force of Zat and Sawar, although several of them have taken due notice of the military system obtaining in the time of Jahangir and his successors.

The question of salary is similarly obscure. Blochmann held, on quite good grounds, that the salaries of Mansabdars, as given in the Ain, were of the Zat rank, while the Sawars were paid from the Imperial and local treasuries. He is supported by Irvine, who rejects the hypothesis of Dr. Horn, that the Sawar rank had to be maintained from the Zat allowances, for the very simple reason that an officer with no Sawar would be better off than those with it. The theory of Dr. Horn can hardly hold water; but if the opinions of Blochmann and Irvine are accepted the military expenditure would reach to incredible figures which would baffle the very resources of the Mughal Empire. Taking a concrete example, the Zat and Sawar salaries of the three officers mentioned above would reach to a total of Rs. 4,03,333 per month or 36 lacs 29,997 by the most modest calculation per year.

It is not possible here to enter into a full discussion of the whole matter but a suggestion might be thrown to work as the basis for future consideration of this mooted question. It must be accepted that the schedule of salaries as given in the Ain is for Zat only; and the number of horsemen under a mansabdar was determined in the reign of Akbar by the rule at first of 10 : 25 and later on 10 : 20. As for the Sawar, Irvine's view that it was an additional honour can hardly be doubted, but instead of supposing that the "Sawar" figures had any actual existence in horsemen, we might take it that it indicated the rate of allowance which was given to officers honoured with this additional distinction. This hypothesis hangs mainly on two pieces of evidence. Firstly Ain number three of book II specifically mentions that the Yuzbashis who had no Sawars got 500 rupees for every ten horses. The language of the text runs thus:—

نخست انکه باو صد سوار بود ماهواره هفت صد روپیه - و یازدهم انکهاںا و سوارے
نبود چنانچه در داخلیان اعتبار شود پانصد روپیه و نه میانی را بیست روپیه هر ده سوار

This gives a scale of 2 Rs. per additional horse. It is supported by Hawkins, who was himself a mansabdar of Jahangir, and therefore entitled to speak with some authority on the subject. "The custom is," wrote Hawkins, "they are allowed so much living to maintain the post which the king hath given them, that is to say, they are allowed twenty rupias by the month and two rupias by the month for every horsefame, for the maintenance of their table. As thus: a Captain of 5,000 horse that hath 5,000 horse to maintain in the wars, hath likewise of Fame other 5,000 horse, which he is not to maintain in the war but only for his table, allowed upon every horse by the month two rupias, and the other five thousand twenty rupias by the month, and this is the pay which the greater part of them are allowed." If this view be accepted the expenditure on Sawar ranks would fall by not less than 87·5 per cent.

The list of pay as given in the Ain it seems gives the 2nd stage and not the final one. At that time the officer who was favoured with the Sawar rank fell in one of the three grades. and the increase of allowance, except in the case of Yuzbashis, was fixed in an arbitrary manner. The mention of Sawar with Zat is neither made by Arif Qandhari, Badaoni or Nizamuddin. In Akbarnama this distinction first comes to notice in 1603-4 and thenceforward it became a normal feature with all Amirs. It seems that this reform was a great concession, if not to all mansabdars, at least to all Amirs and Amirs Azam. It is not clearly mentioned what led to this substantial increase of allowance, but I venture to suggest that the strain on the army caused by the frontier wars, Deccan wars, and above all, by the rebellion of prince Salim, who had assumed royal title, was responsible for this step.

We need not tarry to consider the Ahdi and the Dahbashi troops—though I must confess that the points connected with their organization are not quite settled—but proceed to consider other important and interesting question, *viz.*, the numerical strength of Akbar's army. Blochmann, Horn and Irvine are of opinion that in Akbar's time there was some "real connection" with the number of men present under those officers' orders and actually serving in the army. Blochmann holds that the number of the "regular army" was not more than 25,000. He has worked on the Yuzbashi basis; hence we might reasonably infer that he had included the mansabdar troops in his calculation. Dr. Horn (pp. 39-45) tried to calculate the total strength of the army from the Zat list of the Ain and came to the conclusion that the number of soldiers reached as much as 384,758 cavalry and 3,877,557 infantry, but Mr. Irvine thinks, his task "hopeless," without offering any suggestion. Monserrate (p. 585) who accompanied Akbar in his Kabul expedition says that the paid cavalry ranged from 45 to 50,000 and this statement has been with some qualifications accepted by Dr. Smith. Von Noer (II 8-9) on the strength of some contemporary Jesuit writer gives 40,000 cavalry. Thus the scholars hold divergent views on this topic but none agrees with Blochmann.

Primâ facie it is difficult to agree with either Blochmann, Smith or Noer, because we know that the armies of the Khilajis, the Tughlaqs and the

Surs, as also those of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb, reached to lacs. The military problems before Akbar were in no wise less serious, complex and important than of any of those rulers, and unless any exceptionally strong reasons are adduced it is difficult to resist the suggestion that the figures of Blochmann and Monserrate are astoundingly underestimated. There are other reasons besides. Both Hawkins and Jourdain say that Jahangir's army ranged from 3 to 4 lacs. The histories of the reign of Jahangir do not mention any extraordinary growth of the Mughal army in his time, nor was there any political development which could have necessitated this enormous military extension. There are only two alternatives: either reject the statements of Jourdain and Hawkins or substantially accept them. Hawkins as I have pointed out was himself a mansabdar and as such deserves our full attention. Nor will it do to pit these writers against Monserrate for it must not be forgotten that his observations were confined to one sector only, however important, and that the Empire was passing at the time through a period of great stress—the mutiny of Bengal and Bihar armies had not been fully controlled, rebellion had raised its head in Gujrat and the rumbling was audible of a state of excitement in Central and Southern Rajputana, the necessity of keeping peace and order in the Punjab and the United Provinces, all these combined to distribute the army in different parts of the Empire.

The figures of Hawkins and Jourdain approximately support Dr. Horn whose method though defective could by no means be called absurd. If we add up the figures of cavalry and infantry given for each Suba in Ain, Book Second, a method not free from objections, we get a figure which is in substantial agreement with their statement. Therefore it is reasonable to think without vouching for the literal accuracy of the figures that the Mughal cavalry could not have been less than 3 lacs in the time of Akbar. This figure is also quite in keeping with what we know of the strength of the armies of the Sultans of Delhi, and of the local kingdoms of India.

Except the household cavalry and the Mansabdars who mounted guards the army was distributed in different parts of the Empire according to local requirement. According to Ain Akbari, the Suba of Ajmere, though not a big Suba, had the biggest army; Lahore, Agra, Kabul, Delhi, Malwa, Bengal, Multan, Gujrat, Allahabad, Bihar and Oudh followed in descending order. Of course the principle was to locate larger armies at strategical positions.

We might dismiss the consideration of the infantry with a few remarks. The word "Piyadgan" is of a far wider connotation than "infantry," and comprised all classes of men connected with the army from regular regiments to baggage carriers and other ministrant staff. For fighting purposes the matchlockmen and swordsmen were important. An army of 12,000 banduqchis always remained with the Emperor. These were organised into units of ten under Sargaroh over whom stood the Darogha. The Shamshirbaz—swordsmen—consisted of different regiments distinguished by the kind of weapon they used. Their number was about 1 lac of which one thousand

always remained in readiness in the camp of the Emperor. Owing to its mobility, superiority in plains and to the traditions of the Mughal and Rajputs, more importance was attached to cavalry than to any other division of the army, but it can not be said that Akbar's infantry was inefficient or poor. Akbar had armed his matchlockmen with guns which were far better than those possessed by their predecessors in India. It is noteworthy that Akbar had considerably reduced his other infantry regiments and given greater prominence to matchlockmen, whose numerical strength was equal to that of the Household cavalry, which shows that Akbar was as much alive to the value of this new weapon as to the importance of this division. The attention with which he supervised the working of the manufacture of guns and matchlocks, the scrupulous care with which he put to test every new gun manufactured in the State factories led to a remarkable improvement in guns and cannons and to the invention of a new steel plate which was impervious to the most powerful bullet of the time.

Besides matchlockmen Akbar had also strong artillery. The artillery of Bahadur Shah was the finest of its kind in the first half of the century. Humayun and the Sur Kings also possessed parks of artillery but not quite effective. The battle of Kanauj was lost before the guns were unmuzzled; and Islam Shah failing to collect sufficient oxen in a short time required from 1,000 to 2,000 men to drag each of his guns. Akbar paid great attention and much of his time to this weapon which has been called "wonderful locks for protecting the edifice of the state and befitting keys for the door of conquest." Heavy cannons capable of discharging balls of 666℔ were cast of brass and iron but they were not portable for some of them required several elephants and a thousand cattle. For sieges and naval warfare suitable guns were made which could keep pace with the Imperial camp on marches. The result of the care bestowed by the Emperor was gratifying; for like Maximilian, Francis I, and Gustavus Adolphus, Akbar immensely increased the mobility of guns by inventing and introducing in large numbers light and detachable guns which were carried on light carriages, by a single elephant, camel and even men. In a hilly country great difficulty was felt in carrying parks of artillery, but nevertheless, they were conveyed. A separate department was created for artillery and placed under a first class Amir called "Darogha Topkhana."

What was the actual number of the guns is difficult to say but it must have been very large. They were distributed in different parts of the Empire according to local needs and requirements. In Bengal we are told that there were not less than 4,260 in 1595, probably because the use of guns there had become very common. It was said that excepting the Turkish artillery Akbar's was second to none, and Dr. Horn says that in Akbar's time artillery had reached the highest point of efficiency ever attained in the Mughal Empire. (Mr. Irvine does not wholly accept this view, and remarks that in Alamgir's time it was more perfect and numerous. That it might have been

numerous is easy to understand, but Irvine has adduced no evidence to show that it was more perfect). The art of casting large cannons was known in India; Baber had got a huge one at Agra and Burhan Nizam Shah I had cast in 1548 the famous Malik Maidan, Akbar had cast another when besieging Chittor.

The efficiency of the Mughal army in the time of Akbar is another question of importance which deserves fuller consideration than is possible in this paper. Dr. Smith declares that Akbar's military organization was "intrinsically weak," but he offers only two reasons: the failure of Akbar against the Portuguese settlements, and the Court pomp and display maintained on the march and in camp. Incidentally he compares the army with the Maratha light horse and observes that it could not have stood for a moment against the more disciplined troops of "contemporary Europe." Irvine's objections are largely of a moral character, only one defect has any bearing on the constitution: if a soldier's horse was killed or wounded he did not get another from the state hence he avoided the risk by hasty retreat. This last statement taken from Orme does not seem to be correct, for both the Ain and Dastur mention that on showing a satisfactory saqatnama a soldier got another horse.

We might leave the moral aspect for the present with the remark that some of the defects which have been pointed out were visible in the French and some other armies as late as the beginning of the 19th century and these defects were bound to appear in an army which was not united by a strong national feeling and was controlled mainly by aristocratic and adventurous element of society. The first few years of Akbar's reign were spent in destroying the power of the aristocracy and although dissensions among military officers, and some cases of mutiny were recorded later on, yet no great noble is reported to have taken up arms against the Emperor or Empire. The cases of indiscipline he did not leave unnoticed, for we know grandees like Khani Alam, Qutub Uddin Khan, Man Sinha, Raja Bhagwant Dass, Sadiq Khan were punished according to the gravity of their doings. Indeed, he had infused such a spirit among the bigger nobles that an armed conflict was averted in spite of the fact that feelings ran high during the period of his last illness.

How his army would have behaved if pitted against contemporary European troops on the land is a matter of conjecture, and one might as well say that the European discipline to which Dr. Smith refers is more imaginary than real, as is proved by the modern works on the development of armies and art of warfare in Europe. The failure of Akbar's troops against the Portuguese has been made too much of, but it has not been pointed out if he had any serious engagement with them at all. To make such sweeping observations on the strength of one or two local punitive measures is as unfair as unhistorical.

It is true that the royal camp was very huge and that sometimes women too accompanied the camp, but Akbar shook off the camp and the harem when he thought that they were likely to prove as hinderances. In his Bengal campaign he left his family at Jaunpur, in both the campaigns of Gujrat and his expedition from Kashmir to Kabul he had no woman at all. Then again some royal ladies were allowed to accompany the Emperor but not to the field of operation and few noples had even this privilege. A careful study of the reign of Akbar will convince the baselessness of the statement if a clear distinction is kept in mind between the ordinary tours and serious military movements.

It is equally unfair to compare the Maratha armies with Akbar's army. The light Maratha armies of earlier days worked very well in their own country, which was fired with the enthusiasm of a war of independence, and consequently was prepared to assist them, but, when the situation changed, those very armies proved a heavy burden upon the country through which they passed and earned a bad character. Later on the Maratha armies either degenerated into marauding armies or else became almost as unwieldy and huge as the Mughal army. Want of swift means of communication, difficulties of transport, long journeys, necessity of keeping a working staff in the Imperial Camp and of holding regular courts, and such other causes were more responsible for the huge camp than the luxurious habits of the Emperor which we know were few in his case. Akbar's camp was an institution by itself; Monserrate and European travellers of the time of Jahangir were surprised at the discipline, order, precision and expert handling of such huge bodies of men and equipage. "We lay as secure," wrote Jourdain, "as if we had been in our houses. I never saw better government than there was in the camp and plenty of all things." If heavy itself it imposed no burden upon the country through which it passed and left behind no traces of vandalism, lawlessness, or serious economic dislocation.

The word efficiency is a relative term hence it should be understood in the light of the general conditions of political and military life, art of warfare, knowledge of topography and geography and the weapons of war. That Akbar's army was defective in certain respects cannot be doubted, but he had created the Mughal army and given it a system which it was the duty of his successors to improve, but it seems they rested on their oars and did not pay as much attention as they ought to have, hence even after a whole century it remained practically where he had left it. The contingents of the mansabdars were of course not all of uniform efficiency, but those of Abdul Rahim Khani Khanan, Aziz Koka, Man Sinha, Shahbaz Khan, Sadiq Khan, Zain Khan, Shaikh Farid Bokhari and some others were by no means less organized than even the Emperor's own troops.

The army was strong enough to create an Empire and hold it, to crush the formidable mutiny of Bengal and other rebellions, to sit firmly on the frontiers of the Empire, roll back the Afghan invasion, march victoriously to

Kabul for the first time in the history of India, hold Kabul and Qandahar and keep a strong grip on the elusive Afghan and Baloch tribes of the North-Western frontiers of India. Its organization if not positively superior, was by no means inferior to that of the armies of the Turks and Persians or for the matter of that of German, French or British armies, and there is no reason to think that it was less effective than the "Old Regiment" of Don John or the armies of Parma and Pescara of Italian fame.

Some unpublished Records in connection with the capture of Rohtas, 1764.

(By J. N. Samadhar, B.A., F.R. Hist. S., etc., University Reader in Ancient Indian History, Patna.)

The short paper which I am going to submit to you is, I am afraid, not at all even of provincial interest, far less of an Imperial nature, but my object in bringing it before you is two-fold. First that greater attention may be paid to a very interesting period of history, which has not received that amount of attention which it so richly deserves, for since the death of my late lamented teacher, Dr. C. R. Wilson, no one has taken it up with full details as he commenced and secondly that efforts may be made to ransack the archives of old families containing documents of historical value which would throw more flood of light on this dark period of history.[1]

My paper is on "Some unpublished Records in connection with the capture of Rohtas in 1764." Rohtas has all along played a very important part in the history of India. It is associated with the name and legend of Rohitaswa, the son of Haris Chandra who gave away his kingdom to Viswamitra Rishi. Tradition says that it was the seat of autochthonous races. That Rohtas was once the seat of their race still lingers among the Kharwars, Oraons and Cheros. Sher Shah after his loss of Chunar, captured Rohtas which afforded him secure retreat in his campaign against Humayun. In the times of Akbar Mansingh made Rohtas his stronghold when he was appointed Viceroy of Bengal and Bihar and some of the rooms in the fort are shown as having been used by him. It also figured prominently by affording protection to Shah Jahan's family when as Khurrum he was in rebellion against his father—a function which it again performed after years, after the defeat of Mir Kasim at Udaynala in 1764, when it sheltered Mir Kasim's Begum and family who joined her husband after his final defeat.

I want to draw your attention here to the period relating to Mir Kasim.

[1] The proposed "History of Bengal," if it can be written, will be a move in the right direction.

Martin in his "Eastern India," Vol. I, refers to this in the following words.[1] "Kasem Aly, the Viceroy of Bengal and Behar, contrary to the rules of the empire, obtained this fortress from Ali Gohar. The Kelahdar was then absent, and his Dewan Shah Mal refused to comply with the royal order. He was, however, unable to secure the place for Suja Uddowlah, the Vizir, to whom it of right belonged, and was put in irons by Nisar Aly, who was appointed Kelahdar. After Kasem Aly's lines at Uduyanala were forced, he became anxious for the safety of his family and treasure, and was advised to send them to Rohtas. His wife, with 1,700 other women and the treasure, were accordingly sent to that place under charge of Lala Nobut Rai, who soon died, and the Kelahdar being with the Viceroy, the charge was transferred to Shah Mal, the Dewan, who had previously been in irons, but he seems to have acted with honour and fidelity. When Kasem Aly was finally defeated at Vagsar (Buxar), the Dewan sent the chief wife of the Viceroy to join him, and she took with her all the gold and jewels; the silver was too heavy for carriage. Kasem Aly, who was very much irritated by some part of Suja Uddowlah's conduct immediately after the battle at Vagsar, wrote to the Dewan, recommending him to deliver up the fortress to the English; so that some time after the battle when Colonel Goddard arrived, no resistance was made."[2] The District Gazetteer evidently following the above observes, "Shah Mal, the Dewan, then peaceably surrendered the fort to the English who advanced under Goddard from Tekary."[3]

The fort was delivered to Captain Goddard but certainly not according to the orders of Mir Kasim. Shah Mal knew that Mir Kasim's was a losing concern and he made up his mind to make the best of the situation. My reasons are based on the following letters and documents:—

Letter from Major Hector Munro to Raja Shah Mal:—

"Informed by Dr. Fullarton that you intend to serve as a friend of the Company.

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[1] I am indebted to Mr. V. H. Jackson, M.A., I.E.S., Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University, for the original of this portion kept at the India Office Library. There is not much of difference. It is thus—"The last Kelahdar Nisar Ali was a dependent of Kasem Ali to whom the fortress had been given by Ali Gauhar the King. Kasem Ali after his defeat at Udaynala sent 1,700 of his women, his wife and treasure here under the charge of Lala Nobut Rai who soon died. At Buxar the Kelahdar was with his master having left the fort in charge of his Dewan Shah Mal. Shah Mal seems to have behaved with honor. When Kasem was finally defeated, his wife joined him in his flight with all the cash. The other women with many effects were left behind. (A note is added thus—the Dewan of the Dewan's family—a very good looking old man, says that only the gold was carried away. The silver was left behind as too bulky.) About a month after the battle, Colonel Goddard came and assembled the garrison without arms and told them that such as chose the company's service he would entertain and such as chose might go to their own homes. The Dewan of Shah Mal says that Kasem Ali had directed him to deliver the fort in preference to the Vizir who had used him ill. The women dispersed as they pleased. One among them was a European who joined Mrs. Goddard. The Colonel remained in the fort about 2 months and destroyed all the military stores. A small guard remained there for about a year when the place was totally destroyed."

[2] Vol. I, pages 433 and 434.

[3] In this connection a reference may be made to the *Seir Mutagherin* (Cambray's Edition, Vol. III, pages 553 ff.).

If you are willing to come here as a friend and well-wisher of the Company, you should send your petition stating what you have in your mind, so according to that (paper) may be sent after being signed. After receiving, whatever may be considered will come into force."

H. M.[1]

Evidently, therefore, through Dr. Fullarton Raja Shah Mal had entered into negotiations with Munro. Dr. Fullarton's letter was as follows:—

"Raja Saheb,

Received your letter and informed of the contents.

I have sent the letter of Major Saheb, the contents being supported by the word of Jesus Christ and being duly signed, through Mir Asad Ali. You may receive it shortly.

Captain Gadar Saheb also has gone towards you. You should do according to the advice of the above stated advisor, being a true and sincere well-wisher of the English Company. Through these acts you will gain the kindness of Major Saheb and you will prosper.

The paper for the safety of Izzat and for support is herewith attached after being duly signed."

W. F.[2]

The result was that after the surrender of the fort, on Raja Shah Mal was conferred the Mansab of Char Hazari and the title of Bahadur and lands near Rohtas were given to him and later on to his son who was given the title of Rai Rayan.

A *sanad* given to Raja Shah Mal's son in the name of Shah Alam and the English Company is translated below. This *sanad*, dated the 2nd of May 1781, is interesting because the seal[3] bears conjointly the name of the East India Company as well as of Shah Alam which shows that even after 16 years of the granting of the Diwani (1765) the name of Shah Alam was used in *sanads*. The *sanad* also bears the full signature of Warren Hastings. The translation runs thus:—

All the officials of *Pergunna* Haveli Rohtas, Sarkar Rohtas, Behar, should know that according to the orders of Governor General and members of

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[1] Initials in the writing of the general are given here.
[2] Only initials in the hand of Fullarton have been given.
[3] No such joint seal is available in the Calcutta Imperial Library. In the Imperial Record Department has been found a *sanad* and a *Parwana* issued by Sherman Bird (Secretary) and Shah Alam to Mr. Berner, a Danish gentleman, for establishing a factory at Patna. The *sanad* was signed by Secretary Bird but the *Parwana* was issued under the seal of Shah Alam. I am indebted to Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali for the above information as well as for the fact that no further papers have been traced there.

After the reading of the paper, I had been again to the locality where I discovered some more seals of the like nature.

Council, the above mentioned *Perganna* is given in Ijara Muqarrari, permanently to Ray Harbans Ray on the total amount of Rs. 12,613 yearly from the revenue and sair, excluding the Dastūrat of Zamindari, Chaudhry and Qanungoi, on the condition of paying fully the amount and not doing oppression on the common people—inhabitants of the place—from the beginning of 1188 Fasli. He should make all the raiyats happy through his dealings and try in the increase of cultivation. He should pay his dues by yearly instalments. He should not bring any sort of complaint of excessive rain and of famine, etc. Whatever amount the Governor General and members of the Council may remit on these grounds he should consider as a favour. He should not exact unusual patta, interest, salami, Tehwari, Bandobasti, Farmaishi. He should not take away the lands and gardens and tanks of Braumouttor, Deoattor, Faqirs' Daily allowances, charities, livelihood, Altamgha Lakhiraj, villages and lands of Muqarrari and Istimarari, without the sanction of the *Huzur* and also he should not grant the same newly to any one without reference to *Huzur*. He should not increase the rent at the time of newly granting a Patta. He should protect the roads fully, so that travellers may travel without any fear of pain. He should not give place to thieves and robbers within his jurisdiction. If the property of any one is taken by theft or robbed, helping the officers of the Faujdar, he should bring out the property of the thieves and robbers. Till going on in this way, his Ijara will not be cancelled. And the duties of Zamindars, Chaudhris and other above stated officials will be that believing him to be a permanent Mustafi of Muqarrari and Istamarari, they should not go beyond their duties which will be for the benefit of the Sarkars and the good of the raiyats. And they should not demand every year a new *sanad* from him. 2nd May, 1781, 22nd Baisakh, 1181 Bangla Fasli, 8th Jamad ul awal Jalus 23.[1]

I have already stated my reasons for venturing to come forward with a short paper. And perhaps I may add one more. The Indian Historical Records Commission have visited 5 of the capitals including the Metropolis of India. I do not know when Patna will be honoured. Patna has its special claims because of the Oriental Public Library. Further, when I was working as Secretary for the tenth Bengali Literary Conference and Exhibition, my attention was drawn to the existence of a large number of Persian and Urdu manuscripts belonging to a scion of an aristocratic family of Patna, whose ancestors had been serving the Mughal emperors at Delhi. This led to the discovery of a valuable manuscript to which the attention of Professor Sarkar was immediately drawn and who has fully utilised its contents. Who knows that the sitting of the Indian Historical Records Commission, let us hope, at no distant future at Patna, will lead to the discovery of some more valuable manuscripts which will help in the solving of some more problems of Indian history?[2]

[1] I have in my possession in original "A representation of facts by Raja Harbans Rai to the members of the Council of Murshidabad" which supports all these facts.

[2] I am indebted to one of my Honours students Mr. Amin Ahmad in the translation of the original letters and *sanads*.

Old Judicial Records of the Calcutta High Court.

(By Badrud-din Ahmad, B.A., Keeper of Records, High Court, Calcuta.)

The advanced countries of Europe have been the pioneers, as in many other arts, in the organization of public records and the appraisement ot their historical value. Of the numerous benefits which India has derived by her contact with the West the rescue of documents relating to her past history from oblivion has been one of the greatest. But the work hitherto done in India in this direction seems to have been partial and out of proportion to the bulk of records existing in all the departments of Government. Most of the activities of the Imperial and Provincial Governments in the management of state records, it would appear, has been confined to administrative archives; while those of the courts of justice have been almost wholly left out of their sphere. This has perhaps been due to the fact that judicial records are not under the immediate jurisdiction of the Executive authorities, who have great facilities for taking an initiative and practically the exclusive power to carry it out. Before the reorganization of their Secretariat Record Room the Government of Bengal wrote to the Government of India in regard to the records of the Calcutta High Court:—"The records of the High Court are no doubt of great interest. The Lieutenant-Governor however has no information with regard to them. His Honour thinks that the Hon'ble High Court might properly be consulted." The High Court on the other hand had until quite recently no whole-time or permanent officer to look after the large mass of records deposited in its office rooms, who had an exact idea as to the nature and scope of the Court's old records, and could understand their historical value, or carry on a sustained effort to reorganise them on modern scientific lines. Mr. Foster's valuable Memorandum on the Second Report of the Royal Commission on the Public Records of England and Wales drew—perhaps for the first time—the serious attention of the Government of India to the immediate need of putting the old records of the various High Courts in India into order; and in 1919 a Record Department was created and a permanent Keeper of Records was appointed in the Calcutta High Court to reorganise the records on its Appellate Side. Subsequently, the Court further realising the necessity of making immediate provision for the better preservation and proper management of the entire judicial records of value under its jurisdiction, formulated a scheme to establish a Central Judicial Record Office in Calcutta, to which the records on both the Appellate and Original Sides of the Court as well as the pre-Mutiny records now in the custody of the District Judges would be transferred. This scheme is pending before the Government of India.

Difficulties in the reorganization of judicial records.

It may not perhaps be too much to say that the judicial records of a country throw a much greater light on the history of its people than its executive or secretariat records.

Their historical value.

They are in some respects more elucidative and authentic, embodying the final conclusions of most carefully sifted arguments and evidences, embracing the whole sphere of human activities with the utmost possible accuracy, and representing all shades of human motive and thought. They present a vivid idea as to how a particular people have lived from generation to generation under different systems of education and different conceptions of good and evil, and indicate the great force of circumstances in shaping the morals of a community. Unlike the chronicles of the Executive, they do not harbour any one-sided statements—statements which were never subjected to the scrutiny of the public, and which often mislead the historian to not a little extent. The records relating to the courts of law in this country represent a modern and two great and ancient civilizations, most dissimilar to each other and each an integral whole in itself; and despite the changes effected by the *obiter dicta* of British tribunals it may be said that at least the civil laws, as promulgated by the Quran and the Vedas, have maintained both their letter and spirit almost intact to the present day. All research work in Indian history must therefore remain incomplete, so long as these records are not studied properly.

Records in the High Court.

The Record Rooms of the Calcutta High Court contain documents dating from the very earliest times of British rule in India and covering about a century and a half of its most eventful period. They may roughly be classified under two principal groups as follows:—

I. Those relating to the Original Jurisdiction of the High Court and the courts that preceded it, *viz.*, the Mayor's Court, the Court of Quarter Sessions and the Supreme Court.

II. Those relating to the Appellate Jurisdiction of the High Court and the courts that preceded it, *viz.*, the Sadar Diwani and Sadar Nizamat Adalats.

This paper purports to deal only with the records of the older courts, all of which practically existed before the Indian Mutiny, the present High Court coming into existence only five years after that great event. It is not intended to enter into descriptive details of the records, beyond giving an idea as to their nature and present condition and making a few suggestions for taking immediate steps for their better preservation and arrangement.

Old English Courts in India.

The Mayor's Court and the Court of Quarter Sessions were constituted as early as 1727 by a Royal Charter. They corresponded to the Civil and Criminal Jurisdiction respectively of the present High Court in its Original Side, and were created with a view to extending to the British subjects of His Majesty the benefits of the English laws. All cases that came up before the civil court were tried according to equity, good conscience and the

Common Law prevailing in Great Britain at the time, and the bulk of these cases consisted of money suits against European residents and merchants. The Mayor's Court consisted of the Mayor in the chair and Aldermen present, and held its sittings at the Town Hall ordinarily on Tuesdays and Fridays. The Court of Quarter Sessions was presided over by the Governor and five senior members of the Council, who were appointed Justices of the Peace and Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery for the trial of all offences with the exception of high treason. Both these courts were Courts of Record. The Sheriff was the officer through whom the commands of the courts were executed. He produced the "person and goods and chattels," issued warrants (*capias of arrest*), mandatory processes, bails, etc.

The Mayor's Court was abolished and replaced by the Supreme Court in 1774 under the Regulating Act of 1773 and the Court of Quarter Sessions was made subject to it. It was authorised to perform the functions of a Court of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery and was presided over by a Chief Justice and three puisne Judges, who were also made Justices of the Peace and Coroners in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa with authority similar to those exercised by the Justices of the King's Bench in England. The existing Sheriff continued to be the Sheriff of the new Court, while the capacity of the Court was divided into various Sides, *viz.*, the Ecclesiastical, Admiralty, Ordinary Civil and Crown Sides. The Judges, who derived their functions and powers directly from a Royal Charter, were animated by an ardent desire for establishing an administration in this country based on the English principles of equity and justice, which often seriously clashed with the commercial and political interests of the East India Company; while the Executive headed by the Governor-General and his Council did not like that any part of the judicial administration of the country, over which they had hitherto exercised complete control, should pass out of their hands. The result was that a spirit of rivalry, dangerous to peace and good government, was created between the Supreme Court on the one hand and the Sadar Adalats, over which the Governor-General and his Council presided, on the other. This naturally led to constant friction between the two courts; and men imprisoned by the one were often ordered to be released by the other, and *vice versâ*. Letters of the Governor-General and Council were criticised by the Chief Justice as wanting in form, and ignored on legal grounds. Native grandees who were partisans of the Company often took advantage of these circumstances. Roy Radha Charan, the representative of Mobarakud-Dowla, the Nawab Nazim of Murshidabad, refused to appear before the Supreme Court, when summoned in a case, and claimed through the Governor-General the privilege of the "laws of nations." The Governor-General of course supported him, but only to draw strong indictments from the Chief Justice. This situation however improved by later changes.

The records of these English Courts consist mainly of the following papers:—

1. Bills of complaint. These were grounds on which a suit was brought for decision before the Courts. They were filed by the attorneys of the plaintiffs.
2. Answers of the opposite parties. These were filed by the attorneys of the defendants.
3. Orders of the Mayor's Court to the Sheriff and commissions issued by it.
4. Exhibits, relating to the bills of complaint in the form of deeds, registers, account books, etc., of firms and ships.
5. Schedules of questions put to the parties by the attorneys on the opposite sides.
6. Affidavits, petitions, etc.
7. Reports of the Sheriff and other officers of the Courts.
8. Minor orders.
9. Final orders of the Mayor's Court, decreeing or dismissing a suit or permitting a case to be withdrawn. (No separate judgments or decrees are traceable relating to this Court beyond the notes "decreed" or "dismissed," written on docket covers).
10. Depositions of witnesses.
11. Judgments and decrees (of the Supreme Court).
12. Verdicts of the jury.
13. Probates and letters of administration granted by the Judges.
14. Copies of correspondence with Governors-General.
15. Account books and other registers.
16. Miscellaneous letters received from the public.
17. Wills and testaments.

Old British Indian Courts.

The Sadar Diwani Adalat was established in Calcutta by Warren Hastings in 1773. It was reconstituted and made a Court of Record by an Act of Parliament in 1781. The Adalat was a court of appeal in all civil cases exceeding five hundred rupees, which arose among Indians who resided outside the Presidency town, and was composed of the Governor-General and his Council, assisted by certain Indian officials. It also revised the proceedings of the minor Adalats, which were under the control of the Provincial Councils; and its jurisdiction extended from Bengal to the boundaries of Benares and the Ceded Provinces, namely over the whole of the Company's dominions which lay

outside the territorial limits of the other two Presidencies. The Sadar Nizamat Adalat, which was the chief court of appeal in criminal cases, was transferred to Calcutta from Murshidabad, where it used to hold its sittings under the governance of the Naib Nazim, in 1790, and was placed under the exclusive control of the Governor-General in Council. From 1801 onwards however both the Sadar Adalats began to exercise their functions distinct from the legislative and executive authority of the state; and they were composed of a Chief Judge and puisne Judges instead of the Governor-General and the members of Council as hitherto. The laws administered by the nizamat Adalat continued to be on the Mughal system for a long time. The possession and ownership of slaves, the cutting off the hand for theft, the payment of "diyat" (blood money) for murder were sanctioned by the laws, and the punishments were awarded according to the *fatwas* pronounced by the Muftis. Rebels were hanged and their dead bodies exposed on a gibbet in public thoroughfares, as a warning to criminals.

The records of these courts consist mainly of the following papers:—

1. Petitions of appeal filed by the appellants' Vakils. These were the equivalents of the modern memorandums of appeal.
2. Answers and cross-objections of the parties.
3. Lists of witnesses.
4. Letters from District Judges, forwarding exhibits, pleadings and other proceedings of the subordinate Adalats, including the Judgments and decrees in Persian with English translations.
5. Questions and answers (*fatwas*) of the Qaziul-Quzzat, Muftis and Pundits, who were law officers of the Adalats.
6. Reports of the Reporters.
7. Judgments of the Adalats passed in the form of resolutions.
8. Miscellaneous registers, correspondence and circular orders.
9. 'Constructions.' These were the embodied opinions of the Judges of the Adalats on difficult points of law referred to them by the District Officers, who did not find any guidance from the regulations and laws in force and the established customs of the country, in regard to particular cases pending before them. These opinions were circulated throughout the jurisdiction of the Adalats and treated as laws. They were more or less equivalent to the present-day rulings of the High Courts, and contributed to a great extent to the development of the Code of Civil Procedure. The more important 'constructions' were printed.

A number of valuable documents have been lent to the Secretary of the Commission at his request from the Record Rooms of the High Court for the present occasion. They include papers relating to some important political trials and the judicial administration of the country during the latter part of the eighteenth century, besides copies of various letters from the Mayor's Court to Lord Clive, proceedings of the first Supreme Court, wills of General Clavering, Colonel Monson and Henry Vansittart and a *farman* of Sultan Abdul Majid I of Turkey conferring the Order of Majidi on a British officer.

Exhibits for Historical Records Commission

A short account of one of the trials, which relates to a well-known Urdu poet, may perhaps be given here, as likely to be read with interest. Mirza Jan, whose poetic *nom de plume* was "Tapish," was a Mughal by descent from Bokhara and a courtier of Saheb-i-Alam Mirza Jawan Bakht. He was charged with conspiring to 'subvert and extirpate from the country of Bengal' the Government of the East India Company and with aiding and abetting Nawab Shamsud-Dowla, a grandson of Mobarakud-Dowla, the Nawab Nazim, in trying to 'turn aside as many people as possible from the attachment of the English Company.' He was alleged to have caused letters to be written to Zaman Shah, the King of Afghanistan, inviting him to attack Bengal and free it from the yoke of the English, and to Sher Muhammad Khan Bahadur and Mirza Abdur Rahim Khan Mustaufiul Mulk, the Vizir and financial officer respectively of the Afghan King, invoking their aid and co-operation in presenting both the messenger and the petition to the King's favourable consideration. Mirza Muhammad Taqi Khan Ansari of Lucknow was commissioned to bear this embassy. The poet was also alleged to have deputed one Syed Ashraf Ali Khan of Patna to secure the assistance of the Zamindars in creating a rebellion against the Company. The Khan however was cunning enough to realise the futility of the adventure. But he was anxious to draw out some money from the Nawab Shamsud-Dowla to whom he presented a forged *mukhtarnama*, purporting to have come from the leading Rajas and Zamindars of Bihar, conveying their adherence and promise of support to the treasonable scheme. The contemplated plot was discovered before it could materialise. Mirza Jan was found guilty by the Sadar Nizamat Court, held on 16th December 1800, who, after considering the *fatwa* of the law officers, ordered as follows:—

A notable trial.

'The Court having duly considered the Proceedings held before the Calcutta Special Court on the Trial of Mirza Jaun Tuppish for Treason against the state and having before them the Futwa of their Law officers on this Trial, pass the following Sentence:—

'The Prisoner Mirza Jaun Tuppish being convicted of the crime laid to his charge, and declared liable to Imprisonment until he shall have shewn sincere signs of Repentance, the Court accordingly sentence the said Mirza

Jaun Tuppish to be imprisoned until the Governor-General in Council shall be satisfied of the Sincerity of his Repentance—Previous, however to taking any Measures for carrying this Sentence into Execution, the Court Resolve that the whole of the Proceedings in the Trial be submitted to the Most Noble the Governor-General in Council for his orders, as required in Sect. 5th, Regulation 4th of 1799.'

Condition of old records.

These old records of the High Court are at present without any arrangement and have no indexes. The records of the old English Courts have been lying in a very neglected condition, although a start has been made in arranging and cataloguing the papers of the Sadar Diwani and Nizamat Adalats. The Record Rooms on the Original Side of the Court are dark and not sufficiently ventilated; and most of the papers have been reduced to a condition which would not warrant a safe handling. Unless they are immediately repaired and flattened, it will be impossible to arrest the process of decay which is going on. A large number of these records, it may be stated, apart from possessing great historical value, determine rights and titles to important existing estates; and their custody involves extraordinary responsibilities. The importance of preserving, arranging and indexing such documents cannot therefore be overestimated. As has already been mentioned, a scheme for the amalgamation of the Court's entire records with the pre-Mutiny records now deposited in the District Record Rooms and their housing in a common building attached to the High Court is pending before the Government of India. But in view of the present financial stringency, it is doubtful whether this scheme will materialise in the near future. It is therefore necessary that immediate arrangements should be made at least to renovate and arrange the old records stored on the Original Side of the Court, pending the realisation of the larger scheme, which can be done at a very little cost. Otherwise the records may be lost beyond recovery.

Some Anglo-Indian Terms and Origins.

(By H. W. B. Moreno, B.A., M.R.A.S., Calcutta.)

There can be scarcely more interesting research than that effected in the domain of early Anglo-Indian history. On the one hand may be found an English General married to a Begum to bring forth a progeny of Anglo-Indians, or a Portuguese Sea-Commander begetting Anglo-Indian children on the person of a daughter of an Eastern magnate, or even a scion of the Royal House of France in union with a daughter of the East to originate a series of Anglo-Indian descendants—all to coalesce with the many true bloods found in this great Empire.

To clear the ground before we delve deeper, permit me to explain the term "Anglo-Indian." The nomenclature, as given to the community, representing those

of mixed descent and domiciled in India, has undergone a series of kaleidoscopic changes. "By some they were demonstrated Indo-Britons, by others Eurasians, and by many East Indians," so the archives testify in the early part of the nineteenth century. In the official records they are designated "the Mixed Races;" for in the Despatch of the Board of Directors of the East India Company to the Government, dated the 10th December 1834, accompanying the Government of India Act, 1833, we find in Clause 108 these words :—"While on the one hand it may be anticipated that the range of public situations accessible to the Natives and Mixed Races will generally be enlarged, it is on the other hand to be recollected that as settlers from Europe find their way into the country, this class of persons will probably furnish candidates for those very situations to which the Natives and Mixed Races will have admittance. In every view it is important that the indigenous people of India or those among them who by their habits, character or position may be induced to aspire to office, should as far as possible be qualified to meet their European competitors." I have quoted at length the Clause not only because it points to the existence in recognised numbers of persons of mixed descent, but because it alludes in those old days to the present burning question of the Indianisation of the Services.

On the 14th March 1825, we find the first recorded attempt made by the members of this mixed community to establish themselves as a separate entity amid the other communities and races of India. *The Oriental Herald*, Vol. VII, 1825, furnishes the record of the meeting so held. "A meeting was called at the Town Hall, Calcutta," so the periodical relates, "on the 14th of March 1825, of the class of persons known by the various names of Indo-Britons, Eurasians, Country-borns, etc." Dr. G. S. Dick was called to the Chair and made a very spirited speech as the pioneer of the movement. "It has frequently been a matter of some dispute," he said, "for many years, by what name we should be designated. We have received many appellations. By some we have been demonstrated Indo-Britons, by other Eurasians and by many East Indians. Now though it can really be of much consequence to any of us," he continues, "what should be our present or future designations, yet I think as a distinct body of people we should be at once determined and content to assume and adhere to that national name which may now by the majority of us present, be considered the most appropriate and applicable designation. He then proceeds to discuss the comparative merits of the several appellations which had been at different times suggested for this race (partly of European and partly of Asiatic extraction) concluding in favour of the term "East Indian" as the most appropriate. The Club formed on this occasion by Dr. Dick was known as the "East India Club."

Changes, however, went on in the naming of the community as it grew in numbers. In 1830 when John William Ricketts, Esquire—that champion of the cause of those of mixed descent—gave evidence before the House of Lords Committee, the document containing the evidence together with the other proceedings is headed: "The claims of the Indo-Britons, or descendants of Europeans by Native mothers." In the body of the document they are described as "persons of half blood."

In the *Asiatic Journal*, Vol. XXI, No. 125, we find an attempt made again to name the community. "Much dispute," a writer states, "prevails as to the proper designation of this class and as it is, perhaps, impossible to find one suited to the English language (which wants the flexibility of the Greek) altogether free from objection; 'Eurasians,' 'Indo-Britons' and 'Half-Caste' are terms which have been employed and defended by several writers. The last appears to be singularly ill-chosen and improper."

The term "East Indian" however gradually began to gain ground; for in the *East India Magazine*, Vol. III, 1832, in alluding to the work done by Mr. Ricketts in England for the community, it records how subscriptions were being raised for the "East Indian Petition Fund," the subscriptions being for the sending of a second petition to England through Mr. Ricketts, a project which somehow or other did not fructify.

In course of time a metamorphosis took place in the name of the community and once more it veered to the designation "Eurasian." In the masterly Despatch penned by Lord Lytton as Viceroy on "the education of children of poor Europeans and Eurasians," we have the community described as "Eurasians." "The Eurasian class have an especial claim upon us," so wrote the then Viceroy in his able Minute of 1878.

When on the 16th December 1876 an Association was formed in Calcutta to represent the community with the late Dr. E. W. Chambers as Founder President, it was styled "the Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association." Branches were opened in such centres as Allahabad, Cawnpore, Lucknow and so on, which eventually separated themselves from the parent stock and became independent bodies. The Allahabad Association, affiliated in the beginning to the parent body of Calcutta, was started in the year 1876. The Madras Association was founded on the 7th October 1879. These two together with the Calcutta Association are the three great Associations in India representing the community at present. On the 17th September 1898 a change again took place in the naming of the Association at Calcutta; it was known for a long time afterwards as the Anglo-Indian Association, though for several years the name was prefixed by the term "Imperial" as attempting to show how wide was the stretch of the Association in the Indian Empire. In such centres as Madras and Allahabad the term "Eurasian" was dropped and the term "Anglo-Indian" alone remained as the name of each such Association. This led to the community being known thereafter as the Anglo-Indian community, an appellation that has led to endless confusion in the identification of two distinct communities in India, the one consisting of Englishmen domiciled for a while in India, who retire to England after long residence in India and the other consisting of those of mixed European and Indian descent and permanently domiciled in India. When the Census for all India had to be taken in March, 1911, the Anglo-Indian Empire League which had then begun to spread over the country as an all-India body, approached Lord Hardinge, the then Viceroy of India, to designate the members of the community as "Anglo-Indians." The request was carried out as may be seen from page 139 of the first volume of te Census Commissioner's

Report for 1911; and the members were so enumerated in that Census with the result that the community to this day is known as the Anglo-Indian Community, a term that is neither definite nor appropriate there being many members of the community who are neither English on the one side nor pure Indian on the other. "Eurasian" may be too elastic as embracing even a union of Europe and Asia such as a Turk father with a Japanese mother, domiciled, say, in Persia. For accuracy of expression and taking all points into consideration, one would prefer the term "Eurindian" as implying of European and Indian descent, but this though much advocated has not caught on. It may be added, however, to make the sketch complete, that once again on the 22nd December 1919 and the following days up to the end of that year, a Conference of leading members of the community was held at Allahabad at which it was decided to amalgamate the two sections of the community, those of mixed European and Indian descent in India and those of pure European descent domiciled in India; and this was effected by naming the representative Association for India as the "Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association." This, however, has little affected the name of the community which still goes by the term "Anglo-Indian," being previously known as "Eurasian" and originally as "East Indian."

Before entering into the question of the groups of European descendants who go to form the community it may prove useful to refresh the memory with a brief sketch of the early European settlements in India. In 1487 Bartholemeu Diaz de Novaes had "doubled the Cape." In 1498 Vasco de Gama had followed the route and landed at Calicut on the Malabar Coast with his frail three ships of a little over one hundred tons burden each. In 1521 Del Cano a Spaniard had rounded the Cape and had crossed the Indian Ocean. In 1510 Goa was captured and retained by that prince of administrators, Albuquerque. The supremacy of Portugal was soon established and her flag waved triumphantly over a coast stretching from Gibraltar to Abyssinia and from Ormuz to Malacca. Albuquerque, the first European settler after Alexander the Great, had accomplished all his conquests by 1515. Recording his achievements it has been well said: "He had secured in safety three most important centres on the African and Asian coasts, Malacca commanding the straits through which the trade of China and India passed, Ormuz that commanded the other channel through which the traffic of the East was forced to pass on its way through Persia and thence to Europe and Goa on the Malabar coast, which eventually became a Portuguese metropolis in the East, where flocked the merchants from Arabia, Melindo, Sofala, Cambay, Bengal, Pegu, traders from Siam, Java, Malacca, Persia, China and even traffickers from America."

But swift and great as was the rise of the Portuguese power in India, equally swift and great was its decline. By the first half of the seventeenth century the command of the Eastern seas gradually passed to the Dutch, with whom it was disputed by the English. In 1602 the Dutch trading companies were constituted under State patronage as the "United East India Company of the Netherlands." The Portuguese settlements on the coast of India were attacked or occupied and in 1658 the Portuguese were driven by the Dutch from Ceylon.

Denmark made also an effort to share the profits of the Indian trade and in 1620 founded a settlement at Tranquebar in Tanjore. Later Serampore was occupied. The Danes, however, never made any deep impression in India, and in 1845 were content to sell their small settlements to the British.

The Dutch, in their turn, secured a foothold in the country. The struggle, however, between them and the English for the command of the Eastern seas and the trade accruing therefrom, was long and severe. In the end the Dutch retained a leading position in the Malayan Archipelago and Ceylon, but failed to retain their power in India. Their principal settlements on the mainland were at Pulicat and Tuticorin on the Coromandal Coast and at Hooghly and Chinsurah in Bengal. Clive forced Chinsurah to capitulate in 1759 and in 1825 the English acquired possession of Hooghly. During the Napoleonic Wars, Holland lost Ceylon and even Java, but the latter was restored to her in 1816 ; Ceylon, however, was retained by England and has since been administered as a Crown Colony.

In 1751, five years before the episode of the Black Hole, the merchants from Emden, as a Prussian company joined in the great race for wealth and formed a body in the East, but after several vicissitudes in 1757 they were boycotted by orders of the Court of Directors of the East India Company and by 1760 the English had taken vacant possession of the settlement founded by the Royal Prussian Bengal Company.

In 1719 a Flemish Company was established under the patronage of Austria, being desirous of participating in Indian trade. One of the ships was destined for Bengal and so successful was the enterprise that the merchants applied for a charter. In 1722 the Company was formed as the " Ostend Company," but shortly after it fell a prey to the jealousy of the other European traders. Practically all parties in Bengal had combined against them, but the French jealous of the English and the Dutch, secretly sent them arms and ammunitions. By 1727 their charter was withdrawn by the Emperor of Austria, prevailed upon, as he was, by France, England and Holland. Their little settlement in Banki Bazar on the east bank of Hooghly now known as Garulia, south of Chandernagore, was left desolate when Mir Jafar invaded it.

The French were late in making their appearance on the Indian coast. *La Compagnie des Indes* was formed in 1664 under the patronage of King Louis XIV. The French Government however failed to keep up a lively interest in the Company's affairs and French enterprise soon waned. The downfall of Dupleix and the ascendancy of Clive are too well known to require any reiteration. Pondicherry on the Madras coast founded in 1674 is still, however, a flourishing French settlement ; so is Chandernagore in Bengal.

As to the English settlement in the East, to its development as the Paramount Power now in India, no narrative is necessary at my hands.

All these bands of European settlers, each in its turn, helped to form or swell the great Eurasian or Anglo-Indian community in India. It was the principle laid down by the Portuguese from the time of Albuquerque that in order to establish

an affinity between Portugal and her dependencies, the Portuguese religion, Portuguese dress, Portuguese names and above all Portuguese blood should be given to the people under her influence. Thus we find still in the community the descendants of Portuguese honoured and respected by the Government, bearing such names as DeSouza, DeCruz, DeSilva, Fernandez, Pereira, Mendes, Rebello and DePaiva. These people were first known as "Feringhees," indeed the Portuguese themselves were so called. The names once applied to the Crusaders and bore no stigma. Later on these descendants were known as Topases (from *topi*, a hat) referring to the head dress of all such living according to European standards.

The Dutch in their turn left their progeny and names such as Vanspall, Cuyper, Delafosse and Hessing are common in the community.

The Danes and their descendants are known in the community by such names as Grundler, Klein, Muller and Koenig.

The Prussians have left their descendants, distinguished by such names as Schmidt or Smith, Schneider, Engels or Ingels.

Flemish names are also found in the community such as Vanderburg, Vanleyden and Martensz or Martin.

French names are abundant in the community ; Fleury, Le Marchant, Perron, Boyleau, Bourrilhon and Thomas are a few that suggest themselves among others.

English names such as Butterfield, Dodd, Harding and so forth are too plentiful to be dilated on.

In the origin and growth of such a mixed body of people great men did appear, for it is an acknowledged fact in ethnology that in the right mixture of worthy races great progenies come into being. The Anglo-Indian or Eurasian community in its turn has produced illustrious men of undying fame and honour. Lieutenant-Colonel James Skinner, C.B., the hero of a hundred fights, whose body lies in his Church at Delhi, Major Robert Skinner, his younger brother and associate, Colonel Henry Forester, C.B., of Skinner's Horse and Major Hyder Hearsay (Aide-de-camp to General Perron) who fell at the battle of Maitra, stand out prominently in the list of warriors in the days when blood and fire swept the face of India. Major Louis Derridon, the brother-in-law of General Perron, Colonel Fidéle Filoze and his younger brother Colonel Jean Baptiste de la Fontaine Filoze, both of whom fought in the service of Scindhia, Colonel George Hessing known among the Indians as Jorus Sahib, a corruption of his Christian name and Major Vickers who stoutly refused to fight against his countrymen when war broke out between Holkar and the British and who suffered death in consequence, might well be added to the list ; even then the roll of honour is not complete. Among those who shone in other realms may be mentioned the name of the Eurasian poet and reformer Henry Louis Vivian Derozio whose poems displaying a Byronic touch are still extant, James Kyd, the great ship-builder, Captain James Doveton who devoted his wealth in the interest of education, Charles Pote, the artist, whose pictures still adorn the walls of some Calcutta buildings, Wale Byrn and Peter Carstairs of

Madras who devoted themselves to the cause of education, Major Nairne who was repeatedly known to encounter a tiger single-handed on horseback, Mr. Acimuty of the Civil Service and recently Sir George Kellner, K.C.M.G., C.S.I., of the Accountant General's office, Military Department, Government of India. If nobility and fame are touched one cannot omit the names of the descendants of the reigning House of Bourbon in France, not to speak of the second Earl of Liverpool and others descended from Begum Johnston well known to readers of early Anglo-Indian annals and the masterly wife of Dupleix, the French Governor in India, whose dominance over her husband was evidenced in the doings and writings of the great French Consul. We must be content here with the mention only of a few names famous in Anglo-Indian records ; to go through the life histories of these and other families would require a volume by itself.

With so glorious a past, suppressed though the community be at the present time in their national aspirations, due to economic and other reasons, should there be despair as to its future ? The Earl of Canning when Viceroy (1856—1862) in dealing with the conditions of Eurasians or Anglo-Indians in his time wrote : " It (the Eurasian community) might be long before it would grow to what would be called dangerous to the State ; but very few years will make it if neglected, a glaring reproach to the Government and to the faith which it will, however ignorant and vicious, nominally profess. On the other hand if cared for betimes, it will become a source of strength to British rule and usefulness to India." These words though written over half a century ago are now as true as when they were first penned.

The Last Will and Testament of Amir-ul-Omara Shaista Khan, Viceroy of Bengal (1663-77 and 1679-89).

(By Khan Bahadur Syed Abdul Latif, B.A., B.L., Calcutta.)

Shaista Khan, whose last will and testament is the subject of this note, was a most conspicuous figure in the seventeenth century history of India and particularly that of Bengal of which he was ruler for nearly a quarter of a century. Being the son of Nawab Asaf Khan (the Grand Vizier of Emperor Jahangir), the grandson of Itimad-ud-Dowla Ghias Beg, and the great-grandson of Khajeh Muhammad Sharif (the Minister of Shah Tahmasp Safavi, King of Persia), Shaista Khan had reasons to be proud of a noble ancestry. His connections with the Mughal Emperors themselves were no less enviable, for he was the nephew (brother's son) of Nur Jahan (the Light of the World), the brother of Mumtaz-Mahal (the Lady of the Taj), and the maternal uncle of Emperor Aurungzeb to whom he remained loyally attached during all the scramble that ensued for the throne. To crown all he had capabilities in himself which soon raised him to some of the highest positions under the Mughal administration. Early in life and in the 21st year of Jahangir's reign he was vested with the title of Shaista Khan, by which he was mostly known, his real name being Abu Talib. In the 12th year of Shah Jahan's reign he was appointed the Governor of Behar. Next he was the Governor of Allahabad. Subsequently he was the Subah

dar of Gujrat and twice Governor of Malwa. The ability he displayed in the administration of Malwa brought him to the front and in 1659 on the occasion of his second coronation anniversary Aurungzeb appointed him to the Viceroyalty of the Deccan, of which he had himself held charge for some time. His chief task in that capacity was the suppression of Shivaji. With considerable tact he captured Poona, North Konkan and Chakan within a year of his assumption of office, and took up residence at Poona. But he was soon worsted by the treachery of Shivaji, who attacked him stealthily at dead of night, and in the fight that followed a thumb of Shaista Khan was severed by the sword of Shivaji. Shaista Khan's son, Abul Fatah, who had been to his rescue, was killed. Before the Mughal force, encamped round the residence of Shaista Khan, could get ready, Shivaji, well-acquainted with the ins and outs of the place, managed to escape. This disaster greatly annoyed Aurungzeb, who, as a mark of his displeasure, transferred him in December 1663, on the death of Mir Jumla, to the Viceroyalty of Bengal, which was then regarded as a penal province or, in Aurungzeb's own words, "a hell well-stocked with bread." His administration of Bengal was, however, signalised by all possible improvements and by the further consolidation of the Mughal Empire in the East. By dint of his powerful but peaceful administration he soon converted a penal province to a "Paradise among countries"—*Jinnat-ul-bilad* as it subsequently came to be known.

His first act, on assumption of the Government of Bengal, was the reconstruction and thorough equipment of the *Nowara* (flotilla) in order to clear the rivers of Eastern Bengal of the Mugh and Portuguese pirates. This was also necessary in view of the expedition to Chittagong against the Arracanese, which was undertaken in 1665. The expedition sent under the command of his son, Buzurg-Umed Khan, was successful, and with the fall of the fort on the 26th January 1666, Chittagong was included within the administration of Bengal. In the following year Tipperah was also conquered and the heir-apparent to the kingdom captured and sent to Delhi. Sylhet was re-conquered the very same year as well. The limits of the province of Bengal extended up to Assam in the east and the Sunderbans in the south. Places like Shaistaganj, 528 miles from Chandpur, on the Assam Bengal Railway, and Shaistabad on the India General Steam Navigation line, 8 miles off from the present town of Barisal, bear testimony to the extent of his dominion.

Shaista Khan's dealings with the European factors in India were quite friendly. He permitted the English to build a factory at Dacca in the year 1668, and also granted permission to the Dutch and the French to trade within his dominions. His conduct towards these people was courteous but dignified. The grandeur of the Court of Shaista Khan has been thus described by William Hedges, Governor of the English possessions in Bengal, who had an interview with him in connection with the grant of concessions to the East India Company :—

"At 9 in the morning I went to wait on the Nawab, who after one-fourth hour's attendance, sent officers to bring me into his presence, being sat under a large canopy made of crimson velvet, richly embroidered with gold and silver fringes, supported by 4 bamboos plated over with gold. I was directed by the *Amir-i-Tuzuk* or Master of Ceremonies, to sit over against the Nawab, nearer the canopy than his *divan* or any other person."

During his Viceroyalty of Bengal the capital city of Dacca extended 14 miles from north to south, *i.e.*, from the Tungi bridge on the north to the river Buriganga on the south, and 10 miles from east to west, that is, from Postgola on the east to Babupura on the west. There were in those days 52 bazars and 53 streets in Dacca, and the city was so populous that at night one could safely travel from the river-side to Tungi with the help of the light in shops and buildings on both sides of the roads. The name of Shaista Khan is still a household word in Dacca. Under his benign rule arts, crafts and the sciences flourished, agriculture and commerce prospered; the price of rice fell to 8 maunds for the rupee. His name "*Shaista*" became synonymous with "*swashta*" (cheap). While finally leaving Bengal in 1689 he ordered the western gate of the fort, through which he went out, to be built up in commemoration of the cheapness of rice. He won the heart of his people by restoring the *aimadars* and stipendiaries to their *jagirs* and *wazifas* of which they had been deprived by the officers of Government during the time of Mir Jumla. He abolished all monopolies (*ijara*) established by his predecessors and restored the absolute freedom of buying and selling. The levy of *zakat* (one-fortieth of the income) from travellers and merchants and that of customs from artificers, tradesmen and new-comers were also abolished. The imposition and levy of *abwabs* that had been growing into a scandalous practice was knocked on the head. In addition to the maintenance of the established alms-houses he used to feed many people on the I'd and other holidays. His lavish charity removed poverty from the land.

The sense of architectural fine art which was the glory of the Mughal empire was none the less strong in him. Public works multiplied during his rule in Dacca, and there are several important buildings associated with his name. The most important from the architectural point of view is the mausoleum of Shaista Khan's favourite daughter, Iran Dukht, better known by her pet name of Bibi Pari (Lady Fairy) betrothed to Aurungzeb's son Prince Muhammad Azam. The structure is of marble and Chunar stone and surmounted with a fine dome covered with sheet copper. The door is of sandal wood, and the passage surrounding it is divided into compartments embellished with mosaics. It is considered to be the finest building in Eastern Bengal.

Other important buildings worth noticing are the Chowk mosque, the Chhota Katra, the Satgombaz mosque and the mosque within the compound of his palace. The Chowk mosque is a large building in the heart of the old city, still thickly populated, to which the Nawab Nazims of Bengal used to go in state to say their I'd and Bakr'Id prayers. The Persian inscription on the mosque giving the date of its construction (*viz.*, 1086 A.H. or 1676 A.D.) has been thus translated in the "Antiquities of Dacca" by Khan Bahadur Syed Aulad Hasan, whom Mr. Bradley Birt in his "Romance of an Eastern Capital" describes as having "done much to revive interest in old Dacca":—

"The Ameer of Ameers who cleaves to the right,
Shaista this *masjid* did build in God's right;
I said to the seeker enquiring its date,
Accomplished we know was God's bidding full right."

Within a hundred yards of this mosque is the "Chhota Katra," a large building, constructed in the fashion of a quadrangle on the bank of the river *Buriganga*, the lower rooms of which were evidently meant to serve the purpose of a caravanserai, though some of the upper rooms were undoubtedly utilised for State purposes. Just above the gateway, which in itself is a magnificent structure, is a hall with side rooms and staircases attached, where Shaista Khan used to meet his courtiers and give public audience.

The *Satgombaz* mosque, which gives its name to the locality, is a superb edifice 6 miles off from the present city of Dacca, on the bank of the river which has now receded. Built on a masonry platform raised 9 feet above the old bed of the river, it is surmounted with three domes and has four hollow octagonal towers on the four corners, each surmounted with a dome. These seven domes give it the name of "*Satgombaz.*"

The Palace Mosque, though a simple structure, is valuable for its inscription, in which is described the true character of the ruler of the province. It is due to the author of the "Antiquities of Dacca" that the real site of Shaista Khan's palace has been identified. The palace stood on the bank of the river, where the Dacca Medical School and the Mitford Zenana Hospital now stand. The mosque was built during the first period of his Viceroyalty (1663-1677). The following is the English rendering of the inscription :—

"Praise be to Lord, the Master of the Worlds, and reward to the pious. Now this abode of auspicious consequence was built by Shaista Khan, Amir-ul-Omara benefactor of the poor and hopeful of the mercy of Almighty God ; and (since) it was endowed according to Law on condition that its entire revenue should be spent on the up-keep and expenses of the mosque and on the deserving poor who trust in God, the officers empowered and noblemen in high position should perpetually and permanently carry out this pious instruction."

This benefactor of the poor, hopeful of God's mercy, whose life was full of achievements and episodes calculated to make any monarch in any country proud of them, was, however, as meek as ever—as *shaista* as his name indicated—always submissive and God-fearing. With his life spent in the establishment of peace and security in the kingdoms under his charge, he was naturally anxious that after him peace should reign at least in his own family. Accordingly, two years before his death which occurred in 1696 A.D. (1105 A.H.) he thought of setting at rest all possibilities of quarrel among his progeny by himself distributing his properties among them during his own lifetime. Accordingly in the year 1694 while at Agra he drew up his last Will. There are certain matters not yet chronicled by any historian to which this document gives us a clue. For example, the real name of his favourite daughter, Bibi Pari, which was "Iran Dukht," has been found in this Will. It happily solves the question of identity of Bibi Biban, the Lady that lies buried near the Hajiganj Mausoleum close to Narayanganj in the district of Dacca. Antiquarians have tried to theorise in the matter but in vain. It is, however, distinctly stated in this document that the tomb of Turan Dukht *alias* Bibi Biban, his daughter, lies in the *subah* of Jahangirnagar on the bank of the Lakhya. The

number of children he had and the *jagirs* and other personal properties held by him in the different parts of India can be gathered from this document. It has clear reference to seven sons, five daughters, one sister, two grand-children, his father Asaf Khan and grand-father Itimad-ud-Dowla. Nawab Samsam-ud-Dowla Shah Nawaz Khan's famous biographical work, the "Maasir-ul-Umara," the *magnum opus*, which contains the lives of all noblemen, with any pretension to importance during the Mughal period, gives particulars of only two sons (*viz.*, Iqidat Khan and Abul Fatah Khan) and two daughters who have been mentioned as wives of certain persons. Mr. Bradley Birt in his "Romance of an Eastern Capital," written on the basis of the latest available materials, mentions eight sons and three daughters. The Will under review gives particulars of the following children :—

Sons.	*Daughters.*
1. Iqidat Khan	1. Iran Dukht *alias* Bibi Pari
2. Abul Muwali Khan	2. Turan Dukht *alias* Bibi Biban
3. Abu Nasr Khan	3. Farkhonda Dukht
4. Khoda Banda Khan	
5. Brother of Turan Dukht (name not mentioned)	
6. Buzurg-Umed Khan	
7. Zafar Khan	

Nos. 2-6 were alive on the date of the deed.

It further appears from the deed that

Iqidat Khan and Abu Nasr Khan were by the same mother,
Khoda Banda Khan and Bibi Pari were by the same mother.
Farkhonda Dukht and Abul Muwali Khan were by the same mother,
Turan Dukht and another son were by the same mother,
Buzurg-Umed Khan, and Zafar Khan, were by different mothers each.

It also discloses that he had married several wives, but it has not been possible to ascertain their names and particulars. One of the sons is called Mirza Bangali. Presumably he was the son of a Bengal Lady or was so called on account of his birth in Bengal. Of the two grand-children, one was Iqidat Khan's daughter, whose name is not legible, and the other was Zafar Khan's son Taleyar Khan. His sister was Najibun Nesa Begum to whom his properties in the province of Ajmere were given.

The names of some of the provinces and cities with which he was associated by virtue of service or otherwise, and in which he had properties, as gathered from this document, are as follows :—

Provinces.	*Cities.*
Thatha	Muhammadabad
Multan	Benares
Lahore	Azimabad
Ajmere	Murshidabad
Burhanpur	Hughli
Allahabad	Goghat
Akbarabad	Kara
Gujrat	Shahzadpur
Kabul	
Kashmere	

Properties falling in all these places consisted of 18 katras, 15 gardens, 7 ***havelis***, 4 caravanserais, 5 bazars and marts, 5 mosques and 7 tombs to which properties were dedicated for their maintenance. Some of them are meant for the use of the public, for example, the mosques and caravanserais. An enquiry, if any one undertakes it, into their existing condition will no doubt be interesting.

The document has the seal of the Chief Judge (*Qazi-ul-Quzzat*) at the top, showing that the registration of deeds was among the functions of Qazis in those days. This practice continued for many years under the British rule also till the Registration Act created a separate class of Registrars. It also shows that the registration of such documents, of the nature of wills and testaments, was not unusual in those days. The deed is a model of brevity, possessing none of the unnecessary verbiage which characterises such documents now-a-days. Tavernier, the French traveller, describing one of his transactions with Shaista Khan says : " This prince who is otherwise magnificent and generous, shows himself a stern economist in the matter of purchase." The present document shows him a great economist even in the use of words. It is evident that the practice of granting certified copies of documents was as well known in those days as at present, though the use of court-fees was entirely unknown.

The best part of Shaista Khan's career was spent in Bengal, which was interrupted for a short period of one year in 1678 when he was, in the exigencies of service, transferred to the province of Akbarabad. After his final retirement from Bengal in 1689 he was called back to Agra, where he spent the remaining days of his life. Though he had to incur the displeasure of the Emperor for a short time while in charge of the Deccan, his successful administration of Bengal elicited the highest admiration of the Emperor Aurungzeb, who was not slow to recognise merit. According to the *Maasir-ul-Umara* the Emperor was so pleased with Shaista Khan that he made over to him his own agate stick, which was very valuable on account of its being a protection against lightning ; granted him the privilege of going up to the *gusl-khana* (private chamber) in a palanquin ; and further directed that his musical band should be timed to play just after the band of His Imperial Majesty.

English Translation of the Last Will and Testament of Amir-ul-Omara Shaista Khan, Viceroy of Bengal (including Behar, Orissa, and Assam) in the 17th century.

Seal of the Qazi-ul-Quzzat

Certified copy according to the original.

'The deed of distribution of property, under the seal of Nawab Shaista Khan Amir-ul-Omara together with the seals of the Qazi-ul-Quzzat Akram Khan and Nawab Asad Khan, Nawab Zulfaqar Khan, Nawab Akbar Khan, * * * Nawab

Tarbiat Khan and other high Umeras, executed on the 15th of the month of the holy Rajab in the 36th year of the august ascension. * * * Let it be explained that since every living person is liable to death, I, Abu Talib known as * * * in my own life time, make this distribution of my properties, including the prefectures of wakf under *subahs* * * * according to * * *, so that simultaneously with the death of my humble self, the brothers do not fight among themselves, and their children may hold property according to this deed of distribution * * * (If) out of avarice any one laid improper claim to the property of another brother, he should feel ashamed of himself when he found his share defined (in this document). I have given a writing to the same effect to every one so that each may have it with him

Properties in the *subah* of Thatha.	1 katra, 2 gardens and 1 *haveli*	To Nuran Nesa Khanum.
Properties in the cities in the *subah* of Multan.	1 katra, 2 caravanserais, 2 gardens and 1 *haveli*.	To * * * Khanum, daughter of the late Iqidat Khan, together with children.
Properties in the city of *subah* Lahore.	1 katra, 2 gardens, 2 caravanserais, 2 gardens, 2 katra, 1 bazar in the *subah* of Kabul, the prefecture of the mosque and tomb in the city of Lahore together with the prefecture of the tomb of Farkhonda Dukht.	To the brother of the deceased (Farkhonda Dukht) Abul Muwali Khan, my son. Other brothers have no share in the properties and wakfs of these 2 *subahs*.
Properties and wakfs in the city of Kashmir.	1 katra, 2 gardens, 2 *havelis*, the prefecture of the mosque of the late Zafar Khan whose son is Taleyar Khan.	To my grandson. Other uncles and their children will have no share in these properties and prefectures attached to wakfs.
Properties in the *subah* of Ajmere.	2 katras, 2 gardens, 2 marts, 1 ganj and 2 *havelis*.	To Najibun Nesa Begum, my sister's daughter. Other brothers and their children have no concern with these.
Properties and wakfs in the *subah* of Burhanpur.	2 katras, 2 gardens, 1 *haveli*, the prefecture of the tomb of Iqidat Khan.	To the deceased's brother, Abu Nasr Khan, my son. In these properties and wakfs other brothers and their children will have no share.
Properties in *subah* Allahabad.	1 katra in the city of Kara and 1 katra in the city of Shahzadpur.	To my grand daughter Mah-munir Begum. Other uncles and their children will have no right to these.
Properties in Muhammadabad, Benares.	...	To my grand-daughter Muhammadi Begum. Other uncles will have no concern with this.
1 katra in the city of Azimabad, 1 katra in the city of Murshidabad, 1 katra in Hughli, and properties and prefecture of the wakfs attached to the mosques and tomb of Iran Dukht *alias* Bibi Pari.	...	To my son Khuda Banda Khan *alias* Mirza Bangali, according to the last wish of the deceased (Bibi Pari). Other brothers (of her) and their children will have no possession of these properties and wakfs and prefectures of mosques and tombs.

Properties and wakfs in *subah* Akbarabad.	1 katra, 1 garden, 2 ganjes in Goghat, the prefecture of the mosque and tomb of my late ancestor Nawab Itimad-ud-Dowla, the prefecture of the mosque and tomb of the late Nawab Asaf Khan, the prefecture of the tomb of Turan Dukht *alias* Bibi Biban in the *subah* of Jahangirnagar, on the bank of the Lakhya, the prefecture of * * * Syed * * * Muhammad the nephew of * * * *	To my son, the brother of the deceased (Turan Dukht). Other brothers (of his) and their children will have no share in the properties and prefectures of wakfs in all the 3 *subahs*.
Properties and wakfs in Gujrat	2 katras and 2 gardens. . .	To my son Buzurg-Umed Khan * * *

(Written on the date referred to above.)

Copy of the Last Will and Testament of Amir-ul-Omara, Shaista-Khan, Viceroy of Bengal (1663-77 & 1679-89).

مطابق اصل

نقـــــــل

تقسیم‌نامه بمُهر نواب شایسته خان امیرالامرا معه مُهر قاضي القضات اکرم خان و نواب اسد خان و نواب ذوالفقار خان و نواب اکبر خان . . . . . و نواب تربیت خان وغیرهٔ آمرایان عظام از قرار بتاریخ پانزدهم شهر رجب المُرجب سنه ۳۶ از جلوس والا و از هجري . . . . شرح آنکه چون هرذي حیات را فنا درپیش است بنا بران احقرالعباد ابو طالب عرف . . . . . . درحین حیات خود املاک وغیرهٔ معه تولیت اوقاف صوبجات . . . . . موافق . . . . قسمت هر یک تقسیم کرده دادیم که معه فوت این فقیر برادران بایکدیگر مناقشه . . . . درمیان نیارند و بموجب همین تقسیم‌نامه اولاد هریک قابض و متصرف باشد . . . . از شوم طبعي خود دعوي بیجائی ملاك برادر دیگر نماید همین تقسیم خود دیده منفعل گردد . . . . بنابر همین یک مضمون بهر یك نوشته دادم که پیش هرکس . . . باشد . . . . . .

املاك بابت صوبه تهته — به نورالنساء خانم - یك کتره - دو باغ و یک حویلي بخشیدم

املاك بابت بلاد صوبهٔ ملتان — یک کتره و دو کاروان سرا و دو باغ و دو حویلي — .

. . . . خانم صبیهٔ عقیدت خان مرحوم معه

اولاد درین املاك . . .

املاک بلدهٔ صوبهٔ لاهور — یک کتره و دو باغ و دو کاروان سرا و دو باغ و دو کتره و یک
چهته بازار بابت صوبهٔ کابل - و تولیت مسجد و مقبره واقع بلدهٔ
لاهور معه تولیت مقبرهٔ فرخند بخت - برادر حقیقي مرحومه
ابوالمعالي خان پسر خود داده — و این املاک و اوقاف هردو صوبه
برادران دیگر معه اولاد شریک نیستند

املاک و اوقاف بلدهٔ صوبهٔ کشمیر — یک کتره و دو باغ و دو حویلي وتولیت مسجد ظفر خان
مرحوم — بمرزا طالعیار خان پسر مغفور مذکور بفرزند زادهٔ
خود دادیم — دیگر عموها معه اولاد درین املاک و تولیت
اوقاف شرکت ندارند

املاک بابت صوبهٔ اجمیر — دو کتره و دو باغ و دو منڈي و یک کنج و دو حویلی -
بنجیب‌النساء بیگم همشیر زادي خود دادیم - برادران دیگر
معه اولاد . . . . .

املاک و اوقاف صوبهٔ برهانپور — دو کتره و دو باغ و یک حویلي - تولیت مقبرهٔ عقیدت
خان به برادر حقیقي مرحوم ابو نصر خان پسر
خود دادیم - درین املاک و تولیت اوقاف برادران دیگر
معه اولاد شرکت ندارند

املاک بابت صوبهٔ الهآباد — یک کتره واقع بلدهٔ کتره و یک کتره بابت بلدهٔ شهزاد پور
به ماه منیر بیگم فرزند زادي خود دادیم - دیگر عموها را
معه اولاد درین املاک دخل ندارند

املاک بابت محمد آباد - بنارس — به محمدي بیگم فرزند زادي خود دادیم دیگر عموها را
درین املاک تعلق ندارند

یک کتره بلدهٔ واقع عظیم آباد و ایک کتره بلدهٔ مرشد آباد - و یک کتره بابت هوگلي
و املاک و تولیت اوقاف مساجد مقبرهٔ ایران دخت عرف بي‌بي پري بموجب وصیت مرحومه
خدا بندهٔ خان عرف مرزا بنگالي پسر خود را دادیم درین املاک و اوقاف تولیت مساجد
و مقابر برادران دیگر را معه اولاد دخل نیست

املاک و اوقاف صوبهٔ اکبرآباد — یک کتره و یک باغ - دو گنج واقع گوکهات و تولیت مسجد
و مقبرهٔ نواب اعتمادالدوله مغفور جد خود - و تولیت
مسجد و مقبرهٔ نواب آصف خان مرحوم پدر خود - و تولیت
مقبرهٔ نوران دخت عرف بي بي بیبن در صوبه جهانگیر
نگر کدارهٔ لکهیا - برادر حقیقي مرحومه معه تولیت . . . .
سید . . . محمد همشیر زادهٔ حقیقي . . . . پسر
خود دادد - دربن املاک و تولیت اوقاف هرسه صوبه برادران
دیگر معه اولاد شرکت ندارند .

املاک و اوقاف . . . باد - گجرات — دو کتره و دو باغ . . . بزرگ آمید خان پسر
خود . . . .

تحریر

في التاریخ

Original Correspondence between the English and the Marathas.*

(By Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis, Satara.)

One of the most commendable results of the Historical Records Commission has been the keen and wide-spread enthusiasm for the research of old Historical Records on the part of Government as well as private individuals. Till recently this work was confined only to a few private students of History, but since the Government have taken the initiative and shown their active sympathy for this work by issuing their famous Resolution (Educational Department, No. 77, dated 21st March 1919) constituting this Commission, it is very satisfactory to note that the work of preparing Press Lists of Records and indexing and arranging the old historical papers which lay neglected for years and years on the Government archives, has commenced in right earnest and the Commission deserves our best thanks for this service it has rendered to the cause of Indian History. The annual proceedings of this Commission testify to the interest which the Government of India and the Provincial Governments have been showing in this matter. I am glad to observe that our Bombay Government does not lag behind, for, they also have arranged the State Records in Bombay systematically, and have recently brought out, with the object of facilitating research work, a hand-book of the Bombay Secretariat Records, specially compiled by Mr. Kindersley, I.C.S. I may further mention that they have under their

* The Rao Bahadur being absent his paper was read by the Hon'ble Mr. H. E. A. Cotton.

consideration another scheme, chiefly for the use of historical scholars, *i.e.*, a comprehensive hand-book of the Peshwa Daftar, the really valuable treasures of Maratha History. Such endeavours, it is devoutly hoped, will aid the students of research to trace and bring to light many valuable and original documents.

The publication of the hand-books of English Records naturally directs the attention of students to the original correspondence between the Marathas and the English as well as other European powers, but it has become very difficult to find it. The Maratha State Records including foreign correspondence from Shivaji's times were said to be preserved at Rayagad but they were destroyed by two great calamities. In 1690 the fortress was captured by Aurangzeb after the death of Sambhaji and the records were destroyed at that time. Again in 1818, the fortress was blown up by the victorious English on the fall of the Peshwas when the remaining records were also burnt. It may therefore be assumed that the original correspondence received by Shivaji was thus perished and lost to the world. But the question still remains what became of the Maratha outward correspondence? The Peshwa Daftar at Poona which is supposed to be the store-house of Maratha Records does not contain original letters of the first rate importance. Whatever papers of historical value there are, they comprise mostly of the Chitnishi correspondence about which I have given brief information in my Note on Maratha Historical Records (*see* Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission, Volume III). A considerable number of original letters and documents relating to Maratha History have since been discovered from sources other than the Peshwa Daftar which throw a flood of new light and open up a new field of research. They confirm the belief that the Marathas had constant correspondence with the English and others, and if earnest efforts are made to recover the original letters, the results are sure to be marvellous. Professor Jadunath Sarkar's note on the "Investigation and utilization of the manuscript records of Portuguese India" and Rev. H. Hosten's detailed report of the Pondicherry Records encourage the hopes of new finds of many valuable and original papers in the State archives of the French and the Portuguese Governments in India. In the same way it is probable that the original correspondence passed between the Marathas and the English if rescued from the heaps of papers buried in the Government archives will also arouse great interest among the students of Indian History.

The Maratha connection with the English probably dates from Shivaji, the great founder of the Maratha Empire. It is a well-known fact that the English communicated with Shivaji through their native agents like Narayan Shenwi and others. These Shenwis knew English language and one may suppose that Shivaji, owing to his connection with Surat and Bombay, had occasions to deal with the English through their language. Original letters which the English sent to Shivaji are unfortunately not forthcoming, but

it may be possible to obtain the letters sent by Shivaji to the English, from the Factory Records at Surat, Karwar, and Rajapur. Keeping aside for a moment the consideration of Shivaji-English correspondence, it is necessary to find out at least the remarkable document of the original treaty that was concluded with Shivaji by Henry Oxinden on the 12th June 1674 at Rayagad. It is generally supposed that this important document bears the autograph signature of Shivaji and Dr. Fryer supports this belief. He writes in his Travels in India (page 81):—" Some days after, Naranji Pandit sent a word (that) the Rajah had signed their articles, all but that about money. Then the rest of the ministers of the State signed them, and they went to receive them of Naranji Pandit, who delivered them to the Ambassador with expressions of great kindness for our nation, and offered on all occasions to be serviceable to the English at the Court of the Raja." Professor Jadunath Sarkar, on the other hand, states in his "Life of Shivaji," on the authority of Surat Records, that the treaty was signed only by all ministers or Ashta Pradhans of Shivaji, and was formally delivered to Oxinden at Narayan Pandit's house. The discovery of the original treaty in English will thus bring to light a most valuable document, and the autograph signatures of Shivaji's eight ministers, if not of that great man, will be available to the world.

Though the names of Shivaji, Sambhaji, or Rajaram often occur in the Factory Records of the English, yet there is no trace of the original correspondence of Shivaji and his descendants Sambhaji and Rajaram. "The Public Department Diary" and the "Secret and Political Diary" in the Bombay Secretariat Records contain allusions to Raja Shahu and the Peshwas, Balaji Bajirao, Madhavrao, and Raghunathrao. Some of these original papers, thanks to the indefatigable labours of Mr. (now Sir G.) Forrest, has been made available to the students of history by the publication of Forrest's Selections, but these documents are comparatively very few and it may be possible that many more may be awaiting the scrutiny of an expert. It is well-known that the Governors at Bombay and Calcutta corresponded with the Marathas on a considerably large scale and there is yet no trace of this vast correspondence. Grant Duff in the foot-notes to his great work has repeatedly referred to this original correspondence but to-day it can nowhere be found. The Poona Daftar does not possess at present the original documents of this nature and it is therefore very necessary to find out what has become of these papers. Surely, the recovery of this mass of correspondence may lead to very important discoveries.

As I have already mentioned in my note, I was able to secure, a few years ago, some original letters of the Peshwa's Vakils or representatives with the English at Bombay and Calcutta, namely, Raghunath Ransod and Lala Sevakram, who used to inform all the transactions of these places to Nana Phadanavis, the Chief Minister at Poona. Their correspondence chiefly written in Marathi is most interesting and a few select letters have been

already published in the historical journal "Itihas Sangraha." Raghunath Ransod describes the doings of the Governors of Bombay, and Lala Sevakram gives detailed account of the movements of the Governor-General, Warren Hastings, and his Councillors. He narrates not only the quarrels between Hastings and Francis but also the famous duel fought between them in a garden near Belvedere on the 17th August 1780. It appears that Lala Sevakram used to send news-letters to the Peshwa also in Persian. There were Maratha Vakils at Goa and Pondicherry and all the correspondence of these ambassadors proves beyond doubt that the Marathas had dealings with the English, the Portuguese and the French and various other nations, and their correspondence spread far and wide not only in India, but it seems that they wrote occasionally even to the King of Great Britain. I was very much surprised to find one of such original letters advertised for sale by a London firm of Oriental Book-sellers. It was a letter from the celebrated Raghoba Dada (Raghunathrao) Peshwa to the King, George III, soliciting aid of the British. It is said that this Peshwa had sent to England two Brahmins in 1780 to plead his cause and invite support from Sir Edmund Burke and others, and when those Brahmins returned to India they were compelled to pass through a *Yoni* made of the finest gold before they could be readmitted into caste. This incident shows that the Peshwa was in the habit of communicating with England long before. The present letter is undoubtedly an authentic and original document written in English language from Surat, bearing the date 18th January 1783 and the original seal of the Peshwa. The style of the letter is amusing and will interest the modern reader immensely. It is as follows:—

Letter of Raghunath Rao Peshwa to the King George III.

"May it please your Majesty,

"Your great fame and high renown is spread in the world which make all * * * etc. revere it. This give me a real satisfaction and hopes all your undertakings may be crowned by the Supreme of the Universe with everlasting felicity as being intrinsic and upright on Earth; above expression by succouring and protecting under your Royal banner any affairs of virtue which undoubtedly ever has succeeded. Being assured of all these elevated parts in your Majesty's kingdoms I put myself under the shelter of your Royal wings displayed being now seven years past. I acknowledge the English India Army is fit for battle but insufficient through ignorancy to the Marratta's army and their different plans to destroy them. I gave necessary methods but it passed on by the English Commanders unregarded; but notwithstanding their rashness may your Majesty condicent to my aid by directing me to be supplied with 10,000 foot and artillery with necessary provision for battle, the Commander to engage himself to my instructions and to invest two or four confident persons sent on purpose to manage the charges that will arise which shall be defrayed by me, and I collecting my

horsemen, will effect my affairs speedily and with less charges and I'll pay those managers being allowed a necessary time or respite, for payment of all past and future charges which shall be of course if granted the *1st lose* 6 months, and after that the English foot and my horsemen shall tend to root out Hyder and his rebellious army and compel. This opinion being groundless as a sure one I lay it before your Royal presence hereby to obtain approbation necessary orders for execution. Should it lay aside for any time I acquaint your Majesty that I am allowed only ten thousand rupees monthly for all my charges which with all discretion and deliberation proves insufficient therefore I crave your Majesty may tend towards directing its increase somewhat more on consideration of my circumstances by the Hon'ble Company and whatever your Majesty shall deem convenient I shall resign to in every particular of my charges which I shall make accordingly. The enemy are ever making various proposals and offers but since I have sheltered myself under your Royal and gracious protection with sincerity I will not stain my honour with any unbecoming means, tho'wer so advantageous. The circumstances of the India war is contained in Lord Selbourne's letter from whom your Majesty and from Sir Edmund Burke's letter will find the particulars thereof who will represent it to your Royal presence and in confidence of your Majesty's aid and extensive protection I hereto have fixed [my] seal. I crave your Majesty's pardon for every ignorancy and error herein which the un capacity of my present private writer may have committed helplessly."

SURAT,
January 18th, 1783.

Seal.

It is hardly necessary to dilate upon the historic value and importance of this letter to museums and public libraries. I had a great desire to purchase this important document, but I had to return it to the owner, as it was priced at £500 along with some other autographs of lesser interest. There are indeed very few people in India who could afford to pay such fancy prices for historical autographs.* This letter has however convinced me that the Peshwas were in communication with the Kings of England and their ministers. There is another letter in English addressed to George IV by the last Peshwa Bajirao, son of Raghunathrao, which was sent to the King with sundry pieces of cloth and articles of jewellery and presented to him by Sir Charles Malet, the Resident at Poona, when he retired and returned to England in 1797. In this letter the Peshwa earnestly requested the King of England " to look upon him as a well-wisher, sincerely studious of his good will and to honour him with his exalted letters which he could deem a gracious proof of his Majesty's kindness and attention."

* The letter is for sale at Messrs. Luzac & Co., Oriental Book-sellers, London.

There is ample evidence to show that the Peshwas of Poona and other Maratha Sardars used to correspond with the representatives of the European powers in India, in English, French, and Portuguese languages. The manuscript collection of Lord Macartney, Governor of Madras, was some time ago sold by public auction in England and I am glad to say that some portion of it has come into my possession. I have found in this collection a few specimens of English letters written by the Marathas, namely, the young Peshwa Madhavrao, Nana Phadanavis, Parashrambhau Patwardhan, and Daulatrao Ghorpade. These letters mostly written as they are, immediately after the treaty of friendly alliance between the Marathas and the English in 1781, give us an idea of the political relations between the English and the Marathas and will be found interesting from various points of view:—

Letters from Dowlat Rao Gourpurreh to the Governor.

Dated 29th Jemmady-al-awel,
24th May 1781.

"I have received with pleasure your letter in which you say that you had heard with great satisfaction the agreeable tidings of my having taken the Fort of Goutty and again obtained possession of my inheritance. You mention at the same time the great friendship which formerly subsisted between the Company and the late Morari Row, and that it is your desire to renew this friendship and be united with us.

"It is very true that an intimate connection subsisted for a length of time between the Company and my ancestors. This is known to all Mankind and requires no comment.

"The Nabob Hyder Ally Cawn Bahawder some time ago took possession of the Fort of Goutty, etc., but it is no matter. By the blessing of God, I yet hope to get that place again from Hyder Ally Cawn. I have ever been closely connected with the Row Pundit Perdhaun, and there is no manner of difference between us. Every thing which concerns his welfare and prosperity meets with consideration. A firm friendship has lately taken place between the Row Pundit Perdhan and Nabob Hyder Ally Cawn, and it has ever been a custom with the illustrious ancestors of the Pundit Perdhaun not to break with those with whom they are connected in friendship. A friendly union formerly subsisted between him and the Company and God knows on whose side it was first broke through. You are a wise man, and know it also. Continue to favour me with your friendly letters which always give me pleasure. What shall I say more?"

* * * * * * * * *

Letter from Purse Ram Bhow to the Governor.

Dated 29th Jemmady-ul-Awel or 24th May 1781.

"I have received with pleasure your letter which expresses your friendly inclinations for me and mentions the taking of the Fort of Goutty from

Hyder Ally Cawn. I understand at the same time from what you have wrote to my friend Dowlat Row Gourpureh that you wish us to join you and renew our friendship. Doulat Row is an eminent Surdar, and long famous for his exploits, and he is closely connected with my gracious Master the Row Pundit Perdhaun at Poona, whose welfare and prosperity he ever has at heart. A friendship formerly subsisted between the Company and my gracious Master. The Almighty knows on whose side it was first broke through. You Sir must know this also.

"A firm friendship has now taken place between the Row Pundit Perdhaun and the Nabob Hyder Ally Cawn Bahawder. It is the custom of our Government not to break with those who have entered into friendship with us. What shall I say more?"

* * * * * * * * *

Letter from Jinardin Row, Phernaviz at Poonah to the Governor.

Received 28th December 1783.

"My gracious Master *viz.* the Pundit Perdhaun, has been told that you entertain a sincere friendship for the most noble Maha Rajah Tulja (*viz.* the Rajah of Tanjore) which has given him great pleasure. A friendly connexion has taken place between this Government and Mr. Hastings the Governor of Calcutta through the mediation of Mhadagee Row Scindia, and no sort of difference now remains between them. The greatest intimacy subsists between my gracious Master and Maha Rajah Tulja on which account I hope you will shew him every kindness and friendship, which will afford my Master the greatest satisfaction. What shall I say more?"

* * * * * * * * *

There is another original document discovered from the same collection showing how the Court of Directors of the East India Company addressed the Indian Princes in those days. This letter is written by the Directors of the East India Company to the Raja of Tanjore in 1780 at the commencement of the First Maratha War and is decorated with beautiful floral border in colours on a parchment paper. This is a very interesting document and runs as follows:—

"To the Raja of Tanjore."

"The connection between Your Excellency and the East India Company, the Union of Interest, and the Sincerity of mutual Attachment, are now become conspicuous.

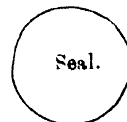
"In our letter, dated the 22nd of July 1779, we acquainted Your Excellency, that War had commenced. The Duration, however prosperous in the beginning, being uncertain, we expressed our Hopes and Expectations of such Assistance from Your Excellency, as the Exigence of the Times might render necessary.

" We observe with great Satisfaction, that the Arrears of Money due from Your Excellency on Account of your annual Subsidy, are reduced to a very inconsiderable Sum. We flatter ourselves that Punctuality of Payment will be observed by Your Excellency in future; and in return, we beg you to rest assured, that effectual Support shall be given you, and that the most vigilant Attention shall be paid to the Welfare and Protection of your Country.

" We remark with concern the Difference of opinion which at Times has subsisted between you and our Governor and Council of Fort St. George. We also observe that several Complaints have been exhibited by Your Excellency against some of our Military Servants; We have ordered a strict and immediate Enquiry into the Subject-Matter of your Complaints, and directed that compleat Satisfaction be made foı all abuses committed in your Dominions. We sincerely hope that the Regulations now established will remove all cause of Complaint; and that no Circumstance will hereafter arise, to interrupt that perfect Harmony which it is our ardent Wish to see preserved, and which, we trust Your Excellency will on all occasions, endeavor to cultivate and improve.

" We renew our Request that you cordially unite with our Governor and Council in all Measures calculated for the Protection and Defence of the Country; and that you will, to the utmost of your Power, promote the Success of every Operation undertaken by our Servants for that purpose or for counteracting the Views of every Power, that may appear hostile to the Company in India.

" In Testimony of our Regard for Your Excellency and of the Sincerity of our Profession, we hereunto affix our Great Seal in the City of London, this Eighteenth Day of October, in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty."



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These documents clearly prove that the Marathas and the English used to correspond with each other in English language and that the original correspondence must be existing somewhere. I have no doubt that many such original letters will be found buried under the heaps of old archives in London, Madras, and Calcutta, and if systematic search is made at these places, I am sure that the efforts will bear excellent fruit. This kind of work can be undertaken only by the Government and the responsible and influential bodies like the present Historical Records Commission. The English correspondence passed between the Marathas and the English on many occasions may be of a formal and ceremonial nature, but their regular correspondence, more especially in the latter half of the 18th century, was

important and political and was carried through the foreign ambassadors or Vakils in Persian. The important despatches or *Kharitas* though written in Persian were signed in English by the Governors-General, the Governors, Military Commanders, and Political Envoys, or Residents. A number of such original papers bearing the autograph signatures of distinguished personages such as Warren Hastings, Lord Cornwallis, Sir John Macpherson, Colonel Upton, Colonel Goddard, Sir John Shore, the Earl of Mornington, Edmonston, as well as the Governors of Bombay, Hornby, Boddam, Meadows, etc., have been recently discovered at Poona in a private collection of an old historical family and I am very glad to mention here that my friend Sardar N. G. Mujumdar has taken up the work of translating and publishing them. Original correspondence of the Marquis of Wellesley and General Sir Arthur Wellesley (the famous Duke of Wellington) and other great English statesmen, in English or Persian, still exists in India and if the State Records of Gwalior, Indore, Mysore, and Nagpur are thoroughly investigated, it is likely that many precious documents may see the light of the day.

I am fortunate to have been able to unearth original letters addressed similarly to the Peshwas and the Rajas of Satara by the English Governors of Bombay, such as Hornby, Sir Mountstuart Elphinstone, Sir John Malcolm, Lord Clare, etc. They are mostly in Marathi character but full of Persian words. If these could be translated and published, they would be found highly interesting. The Historical Records Commission might therefore with advantage pay their attention to this line of research. The main object in placing this subject before the Commission is to show that the materials for the Maratha History are not only confined to the Poona Daftar or the Bombay Secretariat, but that additional material could be obtained from the old records preserved at various other places in India as well as in Europe. I conclude this note with a hope that the research students will pay their early attention to this subject and that the Government will be pleased to extend their help and encouragement to this work which will be useful and profitable to all.

Mirzā Najaf Khan's First Campaign against the Jats (as described in a ms. of Khair-ud-din Allahabadi's *Ibratnama*).*

(By K. R. Qanungo, M.A., Professor, Ramjas College, Delhi.)

The *Ibratnámá* of Khair-ud-din Allahabadi was written subsequent to the well-known history *Sair-ul-Mutaqqarin*. Deeply impressed by the fate of Shah Alam Ali Gohar (bin Alamgir Aziz-ud-din), insulted and blinded by the infamous Ruhela

* This and the following paper were read by Prof. Sarkar in the absence of their writers.

chief Ghulam Qadir, the author set his hand to writing this veritable tragedy of the house of Timur. This history forms a sequel to *Sair-ul-Mutaqqarin* which describes with greater detail and correctness the early career of the fugitive Prince Ali Gohar and the first eleven years of his nominal reign when he was a pensioner, first of Shuja-ud-daula, and next of the East India Company, keeping a melancholy Court at Allahabad. From the 12th regnal year, Khair-ud-din's narrative becomes fuller and of first rate historical value. The following account of a campaign of Mirza Najaf Khán has been sketched from a ms. copy of *Ibratnámá* in the possession of Prof. Jadunath Sarkar.

At the beginning of the 14th year of His Majesty Shah Alam's accession to the throne (corresponding to 1186 A.H.), Mirzá Najaf Khán, who had fallen under momentary displeasure of the Emperor, and been banished from the Court through the intrigues of Hisam-ud-din Khan, returned to Shahjahanabad with his reputation and power greatly increased by serving as a condottiere general in the Maratha service in a plundering campaign against the Nawab of Oudh and Hafiz Rahamat Khán Ruhela. He was admitted to the Auspicious Presence and raised to the rank of the Amir-ul-umara with the title of Zulfiqar-ud-daula Bahadur, Ghalib Jang. Hisam-ud-din lost the favour of his fickle-minded master, and with it his place and fortune. Being left to the vengeance of his victorious rival, he was made to disgorge his vast treasure, the unholy accumulation of a long life of intrigue and deceit, and pushed from the political arena into the humiliation and obscurity of private life. As the Empire was beset with enemies and rebels, the newly appointed commander-in-chief was ordered to recruit and reorganize the army. Through his customary vigour and energy Najaf Khan assembled in one season 20,000 soldiers under veteran chiefs like Mullah Rahim-dad Khan Ruhela, Muhammad Beg Khan Hamadani, Najaf Quli Khan and Afrasiyab Khan. But the apparition of an army frightened his suspicious master, whose mind had been worked upon by Abdul Ahd Khan, a second Hisam-ud-din in cunning and unscrupulousness. He wanted to get rid of both the army and the Amir-ul-umara. So when Najaf Khan asked for money for paying his troops he was told curtly that there was no money in the treasury : he might either disband his army or go against Nawal Singh Jat. Najaf Khan chose the latter alternative and set out against the Jats. The Emperor and his wily adviser heartily desired that the general would fail and perish ; but the Almighty willed it otherwise.

Since the time of Suraj Mal, the Játs had been the *de facto* masters of the open country to the south of Delhi. Only two years before (1184 A.H.), at Kheri (or Kilu-kheri, the village where Humayun's tomb stands), the Jat garrison of a small fort had the boldness to fire upon the cavalcade of Mirza Najaf Khan proceeding to the shrine of Qutb-ud-din Auliya. (Ms. p. 212.) The Muslim army, therefore, entered enemy country, so to say, when they broke their camp at Barapula. It was the time of the autumn crops ; Najaf Khan's troops subsisted on plunder. After sacking all the villages on his line of march, the Amir-ul-umara reached the neighbourhood of Hodal (53 miles from Delhi on G. I. P. Ry.). Nawal Singh had also set out from the fort of Deeg with a formidable army, including several regiments

of Sepoys, trained in European tactics and commanded by Somru and other Frenchmen [*Farásisán*]. Making forced marches Nawal Singh arrived at Binjari[1] and could have taken the Muslim army unawares but for the treachery of his uncle's sons Hira Singh and Ajit Singh who fled to Mirza Najaf Khan and warned him about the approach of the Jat army. Both armies encamped at a distance of four miles from each other; several days passed in skirmishes in which the Muslim troopers had generally the better. One day by sheer accident the Jat camp was surprised. Jamadar Ali Quli Khan captured some men from the neighbourhood of the enemy's camp and learned from them that at that time Nawal Singh was eating his meal and that his soldiers were quite busy in cooking theirs. A party at once rode out from Najaf Khan's camp. "A cloud of dust was seen approaching from the west. Some soldiers [in the Jat camp] cried out that the troops of Najaf Khan were coming. The Jats became panic-struck and fled in all directions. Nawal Singh, quite at his wits' end stood dumb for a while, and then mounting an elephant fled towards Kotman. His troops became so senseless through fright that they wrapped the turban round their legs like trousers, and tied their trousers on their heads in the place of turbans." (Ms. p. 233.)

After the flight of Nawal Singh a council of war was held in which the Jat traitors advised an immediate march upon Deeg. Najaf Khan advanced as far as Sahar plundering Chatha and other parganas on the way. Nawal Singh, guessing the design of the enemy, came out of Kotman, and encamping at Barsana, placed himself on the flank of Najaf Khan's line of march. The Muslim army had to encamp at Sahar and fight skirmishes with the enemy for several days. "As the distance between Barsana and Sahar was more than 5 *kos*, Najaf Khan, according to a preconcerted plan, leaving baggage behind, pushed his camp to *Shahpur*[2] village, midway between the two." (Ms. p. 235.) Next morning both armies came out and arrayed themselves for a pitched battle. Nawal Singh divided his army in three divisions and stationed them at a little distance from each other. Somru with six battalions of musketeers drilled in European fashion, and three battalions carrying flint guns with fuses, and bayonets fixed at the muzzle (an invention of Jawahir Singh Jat), commanded by French officers, was stationed on the right wing. Twelve thousand *Naga Bairágis* resembling leopards and tigers [in courage], and impetuous as the wild boar, with about ten thousand horse and foot under the command of the Rajahs who had come to Nawal Singh's assistance formed the left wing. The artillery tied together with iron chains was placed in front; trustworthy commanders were stationed in the rear as a reserve; and Nawal Singh himself surrounded by a magnificent retinue stood in the centre. On the other side, Mullah Rahim-dad Khan with his Ruhelas was stationed against the *Naga Bairagis;* Reza Beg Khan and Rahim Beg Khan with their own cavalry and two battalions of His Majesty's

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[1] It is the same as the present village of Bainchari, two miles north-west of Hodal.

[2] There is no village named *Shahpur* as I have learnt by personal enquiry in that locality. *Shahpur* is not to be found either in modern maps or in Growse's map in the *District Gazetteer of Mathura.* The village of Mandoli lies midway between Barsana and Sahar. *Shahpur* may be the copyist's error for تاتارپور *Tatarpur* which is about two miles *south-west* of Sahar and 4 miles south-east of Barsana.

infantry were placed opposite Somru's division ; and Najaf Quli Khan and Afrasiyab Khan stood in the centre facing the enemy's artillery and Nawal Singh. Mirza Najaf Khan mounting on a fleet horse spurred to and fro encouraging his chiefs, while Masum Ali Khan was made to take his seat upon the elephant of the Amir-ul-umara, a dangerous distinction for which the poor man paid with his life. A furious and stubborn fight began. Nawal Singh's left was broken by the determined charge of the Ruhelas, animated by the example of their brave leader Rahim-dad ; while Somru checked and afterwards put to flight the left wing of Najaf Khan. The Jats made a gallant dash at the Amir-ul-umara's elephant, and capturing it despatched Masum Ali with many blows of dagger taking him to be Mirza Najaf Khan himself. The day seemed to be almost lost when Mirza Najaf Khan made his way to the centre and ordered Najaf Quli and Afrasiyab to charge the enemy's artillery with drawn sabres. Nawal Singh's centre gave way under the tremendous shock of Najaf Quli's charge : Nawal Singh himself fled mounting an elephant. The Muslim army fell upon the baggage in the rear and dispersed in search of booty. But Somru, entrenching his position, placed the cannon in front and kept together his sepoy battalions quite ready to receive the enemy. Jud Raj, Dewan of Nawal Singh, with 500 fresh horsemen was seen preparing for fight behind Somru's sepoys. Mirza Najaf Khan thundered and stormed in vain to bring together his scattered troops mad after looting. At last in frantic rage he flung himself upon Jud Raj's horse, followed only by forty troopers, and after an obstinate contest broke their ranks and put them to flight. Somru, considering it fruitless to continue the fight, ordered a retreat and marched away in good order. But one Frenchman, a lieutenant of Somru, refused to turn back and urged his men to fight. They fired volleys with such rapidity and precision as to deprive the Musalmans of their senses. Najaf Khan himself charged them several times, but their ranks stood firm and unshaken like the wall of Alexander. At last the matchlockmen and guns were sent for to fire upon them. By the grace of God the very first shell struck the enemy's powder-chest, the second, guided as if by the hand of destiny hit the Frenchman on the head, and the third fell in the very midst of their ranks, carrying to them the message that it was high time to depart. The sepoys slowly marched off dragging their guns behind. With their departure life seemed to come back to Najaf Khan, and smiles of joy appeared on his face for the first time on that fateful day. " Mir Muhammad Yusuf Ali, may God's mercy be on him, composed the following chronogram"[1].

ارزه بر يك و سنگ ازين فتح حيدري -

Nawal Singh had fled from Barsana towards Deeg. Abdul Ahd Khan and the Emperor heard the news of the great victory at Barsana with misgiving and apprehension. They sent letters to Nawal Singh encouraging him to fight the Amir-ul-umara. Some of these letters were captured by Najaf Khan's soldiers. Najaf Khan gave several days' rest to his army at Barsana. He sent Rahim-dad to be-

[1]Abjad when added gives 1388 A.H. which is an impossible number. Only with the omission of " bar " [ ] the actual date 1186 A.H. given elsewhere can be obtained.

siege the fort of Kotman,[1] held by Sitaram, the father-in-law of Nawal Singh. After defending his fort for several days [18 days as local tradition says] Sitaram one night escaped with the garrison. About this time news spread that the Nawab Wazir-ul-mulk [Shuja-ud-daula] was coming to the assistance of Nawal Singh Jat; in fact he had sent in advance a detachment for taking charge of the fort of Agra from the Jat garrison. Najaf Khan hearing this gave up his plan of subduing the Jat country around Deeg, and, practically running a race for Agra, reached there just in time to prevent the junction of the Jats with the troops of the Wazir-ul-mulk.

From the time of Abul Mansur Khan Safdar Jang, the Oudh Nawabs had been the allies of the Jats. Shuja-ud-daula had no mind to see Nawal Singh crushed, and besides, the ambition and ability of Mirza Najaf Khan had made him uneasy. He reached only as far as Etawah when the news of the victory at Barsana and arrival of Najaf Khan at Agra was heard. Finding his own design upon Agra anticipated, he at once changed front and, with consummate duplicity, sent a letter of congratulation to Najaf Khan, assuring him that he had come to these parts only to assist the Amir-ul-umara ! At the same time Major Polier—the commandant of the detachment sent ahead—was thus secretly instructed. " If the *qilladar* of Akbarabad consents to give up the fort according to previous agreement and understanding, then, throwing off the mask at once, you should try to get into the fort by every possible means. If you fail you are to act under the command of Najaf Khan and obey him as your superior." The citadel of Agra was besieged by Najaf Khan aided by Major Polier. Dan Shah, the *qilladar*, tried without success many tricks to bring in secretly the troops of Shuja-ud-daula. After defending it bravely for some time he gave up the fort on the promise of the safety of life and property of the garrison. He came out and encamped at Naharganj ; but apprehending treachery from the Muslims fled towards Bhadawar, leaving his baggage and treasure behind. Najaf Khan appointed Daud Beg Khan Karchi to the command of the Agra fort.

With the capture of Agra from the Jats, the first campaign of Najaf Khan ended. Soon afterwards, he went to Etawah to pay a visit to the Wazir-ul-mulk. There the preliminaries of a secret treaty of partition of the Ruhela territories were agreed upon. His attention was engrossed for the next two years by Ruhela affairs and the Court intrigues of Abdul Ahd Khan.

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[1] Kotman (in the Mathura district) is also known as Kotban. It lies on the Delhi-Agra Trunk Road a furlong or two beyond the boundary line of the Gurgaon district. I have visited this ruined fort in course of my historical tour. Only the *Mahal* (Harem), and Káchhári (Court-room) which is now the *Choupad* or village Common-hall, stand intact. These lie within the brick-built inner fort of which only the big gate, about 50 yards away from the Káchhári, still remains. There is also a large *pucca* tank outside the gate. The descendants of Sitaram still live there as humble peasants. I met some of them ; I was told that the fort had an outer wall of mud 18 cubits high and 16 cubits broad, with a ditch around. One Giribar Prasad, a tall, fair and blue-eyed peasant nearing 50, told me the story he had heard from his grandfather, how the Jats were surprised by the troops of Najaf Khan when they were preparing *roti*, how they came to Kotman and next went to Barsana, where they fought a battle for 15 days ; in short a tradition exactly coinciding with written history.

Dutch Records from the Dutch and the British East India Company Commissions of 1762-63 on their affairs in Bengal.

(By The Rev. H. Hosten, S.J., St. Joseph's College, Darjeeling.)

The Goethals Indian Library, St. Xavier's College, 30, Park Street, Calcutta, possesses a bundle of manuscript papers emanating from the Dutch Commission which in 1762-63 conferred in London with the British Commissaries of the East India Company about the difficulties created in Bengal by the Batavia armament of 1759. On this incident see V. A. Smith's *The Oxford History of India*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1920, pp. 495-496.

The Commissaries appointed by the Dutch East India Company were Thimon van Schoonhoven, Burgomaster of Leiden, Peter Duvelaar van Campen, Burgomaster of Middelburgh, and Cornelis van der Hoop, first Advocate of the Dutch East India Company.

The British Commissaries were Thomas Rouse, Chairman of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, John Dorrien, Deputy Chairman, and Laurence Sullivan, the late Chairman.

The Dutch Commissaries had been instructed to confine their discussions to the following four points:—

1. The purpose of the armament sent from Batavia to Bengal in June 1759;
2. Whether the British East India Company could, without infringing the treaty of 1675, prevent the servants of the Dutch East India Company from buying freely and in the manner they pleased the saltpetre annually required by their Company;
3. How to prevent the mutual recriminations of the *gumāshtas* of both Companies as regards the buying up of Bengal cloths;
4. What measures could be devised for the future amicable relations of the two Companies in Bengal.

It was impossible to reach any agreement on the first point. The Dutch maintained that the armament from Batavia had been despatched to punish the Nawāb of Bengal for his exactions in their regard. The British maintained equally strongly that the armament had been intended to help the Nawāb in driving them out of Bengal. They showed them a letter of Vansittart, their Governor in Bengal, dated January 15, 1761, in which he said: "Je fis l'acquisition, tandisque j'étois à Morshadabad, de cinq lettres originales écrites au Nabob Jaffir Allÿ Cawn; trois par Monsieur Bisdom, le ci-devant Directeur de Hughly, et deux par Choja Wazeed, le fameux marchand de cette place la; je prends la liberté de vous envoyer cÿ-joint copie des dites cinq lettres." (Cf. p. 252.) The translations of Bisdom's letters, of which the Dutch Commissaries asked to be shown the originals, wereto the effect that Bisdom had promised to help the Nawāb in ejecting the English.

While the arrival of the originals of Bisdom's letters was awaited from Bengal the British Commissaries consented after much demur to discuss the second point:

the monopoly of saltpetre and opium which they had obtained from the Nawab, thus defeating an earlier monopoly granted to the Dutch by the Court of Delhi. They had been so conciliating as to write to their servants in Bengal on April 2, 1762, telling them that the Dutch were to be allowed to buy saltpetre for their Company, but not for any other European nation. The British Commissaries refused, however, to desist from their newly acquired privilege, and they referred to the similar action of the Dutch against the English at Bantam.

On the third point the British showed little opposition. But it was impossible to proceed to the discussion of the fourth point so long as the first point was not decided, especially as the Dutch insisted on compensation for their losses in Bengal.

Much suspicion too was created in England in the beginning of 1763 by the fact that the Dutch were sending a force of 3,000 men to the East.

Finally, Bisdom's original letters, written on parchment in Persian, arrived. The Dutch still refused to acknowledge them as genuine, and, as the beginning and the end had been omitted (they contended) in the translations, they asked for 'figurative' copies and took leave.

The papers, thus briefly analysed, offer doubtless valuable materials for the history of the two Companies in Bengal at a most critical time. Especially valuable are the two documents (Nos 38, 39) in which the two Commissions set out the arguments used on both sides; also the mutual elucidations (Nos 40, 48) presented by each party; also their counter-explanations (Nos 57, 71, 73). These particular documents are in French, the diplomatic language. The other papers show what went on behind the scenes on the Dutch side. Most of these are in Dutch, and, especially when originals, they are often more troublesome to decipher. On the whole, however, they could be mastered very satisfactorily with a little patience and perseverance. The index to the papers which we subjoin will show, I believe, that the collection is complete. It is, anyhow, still in very good condition.

Since the greater number of the documents bear the original signatures of the Dutch Commissaries, it may be asked how these papers happen to have come from Holland to India.

Archbishop Paul Count Goethals must have acquired the manuscripts probably from some bookseller, between 1891 and 1894. In the catalogue of his Indian Library printed in 1891, the manuscripts are referred to in a manuscript entry (p. 19, under: Dutch in India), thus: "*Bengal. Lettres signées et copiées de la commission de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales à Londres; mémoires et autres pièces concernant les troubles entre les Hollandais et Anglais en Bengale, Coromandel, &c., 1762-63. Ms.*"

The above title has the disadvantages of not showing clearly enough that the papers come from the Dutch Commission.

The next catalogues of the late Archbishop's Library, printed in 1894 and 1898, give the same title (1894, p. 14; 1898, p. 16).

I have not been able to determine from whom or when the Archbishop acquired the collection. I have examined, however, a number of catalogues of antiquarians

sent to Dr Goethals and preserved in the library, and dated between 1891 and 1894, or earlier, *i.e.*, W. Quaritch, General Catalogue, Pt IX (1884), Pt X (1884), Pt XII (1886), Pt XIII (1887), also his No 85 (Nov. 1887), No 88 (Feb. 1888), No 111 (Apr. 16, 1891), No 112 (May 16, 1891), No 114 (Sept. 15, 1891), No 128 (Sept. 30, 1892), No 129 (end of Nov. 1892), No 130 (January 1893), No 131 (Feb. 1893), No 132 (March 1893), No 134 (July 1893), No 142 (June 1894), and Ludwig Rosenthal's Catalogue No XLVI (year ?).

The papers in the Collection consist of three portions : (1) Letters (copies or originals) received in Holland from the Dutch Commissaries in London ; (2) Copies of letters sent from Holland to the Dutch Commissaries in London ; (3) some detached papers from both sides, several of which are duplicates of (1) or (2).

The papers of the first section are entitled on the outer brown wrapper: "*Engelsche Commissie. / Missiven en bÿlagen / úÿt London Ontfangen / A° 17 2, 1763.*" / The inner title is : "*Missiven en bÿlagen / van Heeren Commissarissen / van wegens de Nederlandsche / Oost Ind. Compagnie, zich / te London bevindende ; ontfangen 1762 : 1763.*" /

The second portion of the letters is entitled on a blue cover : "*Copie [Missi] ven / aan de Heeren Commissarissen / van de Oost Indische Compagnie / in / Engeland.*" /

In order to be able to give an idea of the papers and their length, we have taken the liberty of paginating the manuscript consecutively in pencil, keeping the detached papers for the end, with the exception of one detached piece (No 26, paginated from 115 to 122). The numbering of the documents in column 1 of our index is our own.

Abbreviations used in the index :—

In column 6, F.=French ; E.=English ; D.=Dutch. In column 7, *O. S.* means that the original signatures are appended to the document; *O*, that the document is in the writing of the subsigned ; *C*, that it is a copy and is so endorsed. For copied documents not endorsed "copy" we indicate nothing.

The Goethals Indian Library,
St. Xavier's College, Calcutta.
December 28, 1922.

INDEX TO THE PAPERS.

I.—*Letters from the Dutch Commissaries in London.*

Place whence.	Date.	From	To	Language used.	Nature.	Pages.	Size in centimetres.	REMARKS.	Contents.
London . .	30th July 1762	The Dutch Commissaries in London.	The Commissaries for the correspondence on English Affairs at Amsterdam.	D.	O. S.	3-4	23 × 19	..	Left Helvoet Sluys on July 25, 1762 ; arrived in London, July 28 ; Boreel, the Dutch Ambassador in London, told them that they will have to transact business, not with the British East India Company, but with the Commissaries to be appointed by the King of England.
Do. . .	30th July 1762	Do. . .	To the Presidential Chamber.	D.	C.	5	31 × 20	..	Took leave from the Presidential Chamber on July 15, and from the Prince 'Erfstadhouder' the next day ; arrived at Helvoet Sluys on July 21 ; detained by contrary winds till Sunday, July 25 ; reached London *via* Harwich on Wednesday, July 28 ; visited on July 29 the Ambassador Boreel who is making arrangements for their being received in audience by the King of England, have received £300 from Bolwerk and Nucella, the correspondents of the East India Company.
Do. . .	30th July 1762	I. [T. ?] Boreel Jansz	Do. . .	D.	C.	7	31 × 20	..	The newly arrived Commissaries have given him on July 29 the letter of the Presidential Chamber of May 6 ; is glad that the transactions begun by him with the British East India Company, will be promoted by the Commissaries, whose interests he will strive to serve.
Do. . .	6th August 1762	The Dutch Commissaries in London.	The Commissaries for the correspondence on English Affairs at Amsterdam.	D.	C.	13-14	31 × 20	..	On July 31, Boreel introduced them to Lord Grenville ; the audience with the Ki of England, fixed for August 3, took place on August 6 ; the King doubted not that the differences between the two Companies would soon be amicably settled. Boreel introduced them next to Lord Egremont and Lord Bute, who spoke in the same sense as the King. Grenville will make arrangements for convening a conference.
Do. . .	6th August 1762	Do. . .	Do. . .	D.	O. S.	15-16, 19	23 × 19	Seal on address at p. 20.	To the same effect as No 4. Rouse and Dorrien, the British Commissaries, visited them to-day ; Rouse knows little French ; Dorrien, none at all ; the third Commissary, Sullivan, not being in town, they cannot say whether he speaks French ; they will return the visit of the British Commissaries.—Enclosure (No 6).
Do. . .	6th August 1762	Do. . .	His Majesty the King of England.	F.	..	17	23 × 19	..	Copy of the address presented by the Dutch Commissaries to the King of England at their audience of August 6.

INDEX TO THE PAPERS—*contd.*

I.—Letters from the Dutch Commissaries in London.

No.	Place whence.	Date.	From	To	Language used.	Nature.	Pages.	Size in centimetres.	REMARKS.	Contents.
7	London . .	20th August 1762	The Dutch Commissaries in London.	The Commissaries for the correspondence on English Affairs at Amsterdam.	D.	O. S.	21-22, 27-28	23×19	..	They have met Rouse, who told them that Sullivan would be in town only on August 11 ; on August 13, having no news from the British Commissaries, they went to Boreel and represented the loss of time already suffered ; Boreel saw Grenville the same day and told them that Grenville had written to Rouse to inquire about the reasons for the delay. The next day, Rouse told them that he would see Grenville on the matter : meanwhile, he represented that, as on former occasions, the Dutch Commissaries should have presented their credentials to the British East India Company. They answered that they had expected the King would appoint a Commission, since they came on business of a new character. Rouse replied that no Commission would be acceptable to the British East India Company, other than one appointed by itself, since the British East India Company depended directly from the Parliament. On Wednesday, August 18, they met at the East India House, Rouse, Dorrien, and the Secretary James, and presented their credentials ; they next met the Directors under Rouse as President, and were informed that the British Commissaries appointed were Rouse, Dorrien, and Sullivan.—Contains an enclosure (No 8).
8	Westminster .	18th August 1762	Do. . . .	The British East India Company.	F.	...	23-24	23×19	..	Copy of the letter by which the Dutch Commissaries present their credentials to the British East India Company, and request an early conference to discuss the difficulties that have arisen in Bengal.
9	London . .	27th August 1762	Do. . . .	The Commissaries for the correspondence on English Affairs at Amsterdam.	D.	O. S.	29-34	23×19	..	On August 25, Robert James, Secretary of the British East India Company, asked for a conference with the Dutch Commissaries (*enclosure No 10*), to which the latter replied that they would await them the next day. The next day, the British Commissaries presented a letter to the Chamber of the XVII (*enclosure No 11*), and a copy of their Commission (*enclosure No 12*). The British Commissaries insisted that the transactions should be made in writing, as they did not know French well

										enough and the Dutch Commissaries knew too little English. To this the Dutch Commissaries were much opposed, as also to employing an interpreter. Written transactions made their coming to England useless : for these could be done as well from Holland. They proposed that oral transactions might at least be tried. *P.S.*—Boreel had met Grenville on August 25. That day, Grenville had seen the British Commissaries, who had accepted another interview with the Dutch Commissaries. Rouse had spoken to the same effect to Boreel that day.
10	East India House.	25th August 1762	Robert James, Secretary to the British East India Company.	The Dutch Commissaries in London.	D.	..	35	23×19	..	Translation of a letter in which the Commissaries of the British East India Company, Thomas Rouse, John Dorrien, and Laurence Sullivan, ask the Dutch Commissaries to appoint time and place for an interview. (*See No 9.*)
11	Do. . .	25th August 1762	Do. . .	The Chamber of the XVII.	D.	..	87-88	31×20	..	Translation of a letter of the British East India Company to the Chamber of the XVII, by which, in answer to their letter of May 6, they appoint as their Commissaries Thomas Rouse, their President, John Dorrien, their Vice-President, and their late President, Laurence Sullivan. (*See No 9.*)
12	Do. . .	25th August 1762	The Directors of the British East India Company.	The Dutch Commissaries in London.	E.	C.	37	23×19	..	Copy of a resolution by which Thomas Rouse, Chairman of the Court of Directors, John Dorrien, Deputy Chairman, and Laurence Sullivan, late Chairman, appointed as Commissaries by the British East India Company, on April 2, 1762, are empowered to treat with the Dutch Commissaries.
13	London . .	31st August 1762	The Dutch Commissaries in London.	[The Dutch Commissaries at Amsterdam.]	D.	O. S.	43-46	23×19	..	At the second interview with the British Commissaries on August 30, the debate, which lasted three hours, was whether the discussions should be oral or written.
14	Do. . .	3rd September 1762.	Do. . .	Do. . .	D.	O. S.	47-49	23×19	..	Results of the conference of September 2. The first of the four points was discussed, *i.e.*, the object of the fleet sent from Batavia to Bengal and the letters alleged by the English to have been written by Adrian Bisdom, the Dutch Director at Hugli, to Nawāb Jafar Khān, by which he promised to assist him in expelling the English from Bengal.
15	..	..	..	..	F.	..	51-54	23×19	..	To their letter of September 3, 1762, the Dutch Commissaries in London add copy of a memoir addressed by them Boreel, their Ambassador in London, protesting that the discussions should be oral and in a neutral language, like French or Latin.

INDEX TO THE PAPERS—*contd.*

I.—Letters from the Dutch Commissaries in London.

No.	Place whence.	Date.	From	To	Language used.	Nature.	Pages.	Size in centimetres.	REMARKS.	Contents.
16	East India House.	25th September 1762.	The British Commissaries.	The Dutch Commissaries in London.	F.	C.	55-62	23 × 19	..	They return as unsatisfactory the introductory memoir of the Dutch Commissaries, as it consists of extracts from documents about the Batavia armament, and ask to be shown the documents in their entirety.
17	London . .	25th September 1762.	The Dutch Commissaries in London.	The British Commissaries.	F.	..	63-64	23 × 19	..	Expressing their surprise that their memoir should have been returned to them.
18	Do. . .	1st October 1762	Do. . .	[The Dutch Commissaries at Amsterdam.]	D.	O. S.	65-67	23 × 19	..	They have not been able to persuade yet the British Commissaries that the Batavia armament sent to Bengal was not intended against the English. They will furnish them with some more extracts from secret resolutions. They have insisted that Bisdom's original letters should be shown to them by the British Commissaries.—They add No 19.
19	..	..	..	..	F.	..	67-70	23 × 19	..	"Mémoire des pièces justificatives pour démontrer que l'armement qui en 1759 fut fait à Batavia a été destiné en premier lieu et principalement pour la Côte de Chormandel, de là à Ceylon, et après à Bengale."
20	London . .	5th October 1762	The Dutch Commissaries in London.	[The Dutch Commissaries at Amsterdam.]	D.	O. S.	71-80	23 × 19	..	Difficulties hitherto experienced in their conferences.—They add No 21.
21	East India House.	30th September 1762.	The British Commissaries.	The Dutch Commissaries in London.	F.	C.	81-84	23 × 19	..	Copy of the letter of the British Commissaries in answer to that of the Dutch Commissaries in London of September 28, justifying their having returned the extracts made by the Dutch Commissaries from their documents about the Batavia armament, and offering to show them all the papers from which their own extracts were made.

22	London	18th October 1762.	The Dutch Commissaries in London.	The Chamber of the XVII.	D.	O. S.	89-90	31 × 20	..	The British Commissaries maintain that the armament was directed against themselves in Bengal, and that in virtue of their treaty with the Nawāb they were obliged to prevent the arrival of the troops of the Dutch East India Company. They hold out no hopes of compensation for the Dutch losses. Leaving the first point *in statu*, they have begun to discuss the second point, the saltpetre trade.—Next follows No 23.
23	..	..	Advocate C. van der Hoop.	Advocate Augustinus van Son.	D.	C.	91	31 × 20	..	A copy of a secret memoir sent by Advocate van der Hoop to Advocate van Son, and received on October 21, 1762. He concludes from the discourses of their parties that they keep back some documents, and that their work will therefore prove useless. He has tried to obtain that Boreel should, as of his own accord, propose that, since the two sides maintain their views, the first point be left unsettled and measures be taken for the future, provided compensation is made to the Dutch for their losses, *i.e.*, the money paid to the English for the losses sustained by them (*marginally*: 700,000); but what is to be done, if this is refused, as he has been assured will be the case? Must they waive this point, or insist absolutely on compensation? And, if it is refused, must they break off negotiations?
24	London	19th October 1762.	The Dutch Commissaries in London.	[The Dutch Commissaries at Amsterdam.]	D.	O. S.	93-104	23 × 19	..	They refer to their last of October 5. They have discussed with the British Commissaries the second point: the monopoly of saltpetre and opium obtained by the English from the Nawāb, and have made no advance.
25	..	..	C. van der Hoop	Augustinus van Son	D.	..	105-112	23 × 19	..	A memoir, endorsed in Dutch: "Received 4 November 1762," which from a second incomplete copy (No 26) is shown to have been written by Advocate C. van der Hoop, whereas No 24 shows that it was sent to Advocate A. van Son.
26	..	..	Do.	Do.	D.	..	115-119	31 × 20	..	"Memorie door den Hr Advocaat van der Hoop in de maand Novr 1762 te London geformeert." Identical with No 25, but covering only pages 105-110 of No 25.
27	London	12th November 1762.	The Dutch Commissaries in London.	The Dutch Commissaries at Amsterdam.	D.	O. S.	123-133	23 × 19	..	They refer to their last of October 19, and report on later discussions concerning the British monopoly of saltpetre in Bengal.
28	Do.	19th November 1762.	Do.	[Do.]	D.	O. S.	135-138	23 × 19	..	They refer to their last of November 12, and report on later discussions concerning the British monopoly of saltpetre in Bengal. Unable to come to an agreement, the Dutch Commissaries proposed that at the next meeting each side should recapitulate the points so far discussed and the arguments used by both sides.

INDEX TO THE PAPERS—*contd.*

I.—Letters from the Dutch Commissaries in London.

No.	Place whence.	Date.	From	To	Language used.	Nature.	Pages.	Size in centimetres.	REMARKS.	Contents.
29	London . .	19th November 1762.	The Dutch Commissaries in London	[The Dutch Commissaries at Amsterdam.]	D.	O. S.	137-140	23×19	..	Asks to be allowed to return to Holland for his private affairs.
30	Do. . .	26th November 1762.	Do. . . .	[Do.] . .	D.	O. S.	143-145	23×19	..	They have received from the British Commissaries copy of the treaty made by them with Sirāj-uddaula and with Mīr Jafar. Of the former they send a translation (*No 31*) ; of the latter, a copy (*No 32*). In neither is found the so-called 13th article which Clive had sent to Director Bisdom with a letter of October 14, 1757, and which is reproduced after the Dutch East India Company's report of March 2, 1761, sub No. 9.
31	..	..	..	..	F.	..	147-149	23×19	..	" Traduit de l'Anglois. Traduction des Articles accordés et signés par le Nabob Souraja Doula " " Traité entre la Compagnie Angloise et le Nawab Serray Uddoula."
32	..	..	..	..	F.	..	151-153	23×19	..	" Traduit de l'Anglois. Traduction du Traité exécuté par Meir Jaffer (écrit par sa propre main)."—" Traité entre la Compagnie Angloise et le Nawab Meir Jaffer."
33	London . .	17th December 1762.	C. van der Hoop .	E. de Vrij Temminck	D.	O.	157-167	23×19	..	He forwards this letter through Heer Favel.—A copy of this is found among the detached papers (*No 102*).—Follows No 34.
34	..	..	..	..	D.	..	169-172	23×19	..	Memoir.—What arrangements will they have to make about seclusive contracts entered upon or to be entered upon by both Companies with the native Princes ?—A duplicate of this is found among the detached papers (*No 103*).—Follows No 35.
35	..	..	..	..	D.	C.	173	23×19	..	Copy of a letter addressed to the Calcutta Council by the Director and Council at Hugli, *i.e.*, A[drian] Bisdom, R[obert] H[endri]k Armenault, L[ucas] Zuydlant, M[co] Isink, J[acob] L[arwoot] Van Schevichaven, Joh[s] Bacberacht, S[n] [=Simon] de Hoog, M[ichael] Bastiaanse, J. C. Kist, asking for 30,000 bags of saltpetre and representing that in their Persian arzī to the Nawāb they have not asked for a monopoly of saltpetre and opium, but for the right of buying at first hand. — A duplicate of this is found among the detached papers (*No 104*).—Follows No 36.

36	..	..	..	..	D.	..	177-200	23×19	..	Memoir recapitulating the discussions held hitherto and the arguments used by both sides on the first three points: *i.e.*, the armament from Batavia, the English monopoly of saltpetre and opium, and the buying up of Bengal cloths by both Companies. Endorsed in Dutch: "Received December 1762."
37	London	31st December 1762.	The Dutch Commissaries in London.	[The Dutch Commissaries at Amsterdam.]	D.	O. S.	203-206	23×19	..	The Commissaries on both sides have agreed to exchange recapitulations of the discussions hitherto held.
38	Do.	31st December 1762.	Do.	The British Commissaries.	F.	C.	207-240	23×19	..	"Mémoire ou Recueil des principales raisons alléguées de part et dlautre par Messieurs les Commissaires Députez de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales d'Angleterre et de celle de Hollande dans les conférences qu'ils ont eües à Londres, depuisle 26ᵉ Août jusqu'à 8ᵉ Décembre 1762." Other copy among the detached papers (*No 101*).
39	East India House.	15th February 1763.	The British Commissaries.	The Dutch Commissaries in London.	F.	C.	243-302	23×19	..	A similar memoir presented by the British Commissaries to the Dutch Commissaries.—Follows No 40.
40	..	[7th March 1763]	The Dutch Commissaries in London.	The British Commissaries.	F.	..	303-329	23×19	..	Endorsed: "Memorie tot elucidatie voor diversche passages, in de Memorie van de Engelsche zyde gefourneert, voorkomende."
41	London	24th March 1763	C. van der Hoop	E. de Vrij Temminck	D.	O.	331-338	23×19	..	
42	Do.	4th March 1763	The Dutch Commissaries in London.	The Dutch Commissaries at Amsterdam.	D.	O. S.	341-344	23×19	..	They refer to their last of December 31, 1762, and send copies of Nos 38, 39, 40.
43	Do.	11th March 1763	Do.	The Chamber of the XVII.	D.	O. S.	345-347	23×19	..	They refer to their last of October 13, 1762, and describe the work done hitherto.
44	'sHage	28th March 1763	Heer Raadpensionaris Steijn.	[C. van der Hoop ?]	D.	O.	349-350	23×19	..	He is of opinion with Heer Fagel that, if the British Commissaries refuse to discuss the fourth point, the Dutch Commissaries will have to come home.
45	London	9th May 1763	C. van der Hoop	E. de Vrij Temminck	D.	O.	351-358	23×19	..	
46	Do.	13th May 1763	Do.	?	D.	O.	359-360, 363-366	23×19	..	Sends No 47.
47	East India House.	11th May 1763	John Dorrien	The Dutch Commissaries in London.	E. & D.	C.	361	23×19	..	English text and Dutch translation of a letter announcing an early reply to their letter of March 7, 1763.
48	Do.	21st May 1763	The British Commissaries.	Do.	F.	C.	367-390	23×19	..	"Réponse des Commissaires Anglois sur le narré des Commissaires Hollandois du 30ᵉ Décembre 1762, et sur leurs reymarques du 7ᵉ Mars 1763. en date du 21ᵉ May 1763."

INDEX TO THE PAPERS—*contd.*

I.—*Letters from the Dutch Commissaries in London.*

No.	Place whence.	Date.	From	To	Language used.	Nature.	Pages.	Size in centimetres.	REMARKS.	Contents.
49	*No place* . .	20th May 1763	Heer Raadpensionaris Steijn.	C. van der Hoop .	D.	C.	391-392, 405	31×20	Not signed	"Missive van den Heer Raed P: aan den Heer van der Hoop Advocaat / van de Oost Indische Compagnie en / derzelver Commissaris te Londen. / Dat: 20 Mey 1763." / States that the British East India Company suspects that the Dutch forces, now sent to India and raised to 3,000 men, will be used against them.
50	London . .	27th May 1763	C. van der Hoop .	Heer Raadpensionaris Steijn.	D.	C.	393-396	23×19	Signed .	Acknowledges No 49 and the enclosed English letters.
51	Do. .	2nd June 1763	Do. . .	Do. . .	D.	C.	397-404	23×19	Not signed	Writes about the intention of the English of opening an establishment in Ceylon.
52	Do. . .	24th May 1763	Do. . .	E. de Vrij Temminck	D.	O.	407-408, 411-412	23×19	..	They have received an answer from the British Commissaries to their remarks of March 7, 1763. The letter contains (pp. 409-410) an extract from this answer of the British Commissaries.
53	Do. . .	27th May 1763	The Dutch Commissaries in London.	The Dutch Commissaries at Amsterdam.	D.	O. S.	413-414, 417	23×19	..	Reasons for the delays in their proceedings, with enclosure (*No 54*). Endorsed: "b'antw: 10 Juny 1763. Nota. Dese voorgelesen aen d'Heeren Bichon en van Son in het logement van de Comp: in de Hage."
54	*No place* . .	*No date* . .	Do. . .	Count van Welderen in London.	F.	..	415-416	23×19	..	Copy of a memoir exposing the delays which the British Commissaries have occasioned.
55	London . .	27th May 1763	C. van der Hoop .	E. de Vrij Temminck	D.	O.	421-424	23×19	..	Acknowledges receipt of his letter of May 20, 1763, of Heer Steyn's and of the copy of the English letters. He writes to-day to Heer Steijn. Is anxious about the designs of the English in Ceylon. The Dutch authorities of Batavia and Ceylon should be warned.
56	Do. . .	2nd June 1763	Do. . .	Do. . .	D.	O.	427-434	23×19	..	Refers to his former letter of May 9, 1763.
57	Do. . .	6th June 1763	The Dutch Commissaries in London.	The British Commissaries.	F.	..	435-447	23×19	..	"Lettre aux Commissaires Anglois en réponse à la leur du 21e May. En date du 6me juin 1763."
58	East India House.	14th June 1763	John Dorrien .	Thimon van Schoonhoven.	D. & E.	..	451-452	23×19	..	Dutch translation and copy of a letter. As soon as Sullivan is back in town, they will fix a day for a conference.
59	Do. . .	14th June 1763	Do. . .	Do. . .	D. & E.	..	453	23×19	..	Dutch translation and copy of a letter. As Sullivan has returned, they can meet the Dutch Commissaries on Friday, June 24, or on the Friday after, at the East India House.

60	London . .	24th June 1763	C. van der Hoop .	E. de Vrij Temminck	D.	O.	455-462	23×19	..	The postscript acknowledges his letter of June 21, 1763.
61	Do. . .	17th June 1763	Do. . .	Do. . .	D.	O.	463-466	23×19	..	
62	Do. . .	28th June 1763	Do. . .	Do. . .	D.	O.	467-472	23×19	..	With postscript at p. 473.
63	Do. . .	28th June 1763	Do. . .	Heer Raadpensionaris Steijn.	D.	C.	475-477	23×19	..	
64	Do. . .	28th June 1763	The Dutch Commissaries in London.	The Dutch Commissaries at Amsterdam.	D.	O. S.	479-487	23×19	..	Results of their discussion with the British Commissaries on June 24, 1763.
65	Do. . .	28th June 1763	Do. . .	Do. . .	D.	O. S.	491-492	23×19	..	Being unable to make any further progress with their Commission, they ask for leave to return.
66	East India House.	9th June 1763	John Dorrien . .	The Dutch Commissaries in London.	E. & D.	C.	493	23×19	..	Copy and Dutch translation of a letter. An interview will be arranged as soon as Sullivan is back in town.
67	London . .	14th June 1763	Thimon van Schoonhoven.	The British Commissaries.	F.	C.	494	23×19	..	Answer to the above (*No 66*), asking that a date for the interview be fixed.
68	East India House.	14th June 1763	John Dorrien . .	Thimon van Schoonhoven.	E. & D.	C.	494-495	23×19	..	Copy and Dutch translation of a letter in answer to No 67. As Mr Sullivan is not back yet, no date can be fixed.
69	Do. . .	17th June 1763	Do. . .	Do. . .	E. & D.	C.	495-496	23×19	..	Copy and Dutch translation of a letter. As Mr Sullivan is back in town, Friday, June 24, or the next Friday will be suitable for an interview.
70	London . .	18th June 1763	Thimon van Schoonhoven.	John Dorrien .	F.	C.	496	23×19	..	Intimating that they will meet the British Commissaries at the East India House on June 24.
71	East India House.	1st July 1763	The British Commissaries.	The Dutch Commissaries in London.	F.	C.	499-503	23×19	..	"Minute d'une conférence entre les Commissaires Hollandois et Anglois, tenuë Vendredi le 24e de Juin 1763." With enclosure (*No 72*). They end by saying that, as the Dutch are willing to accept concessions, but not to make any, their last conference has been as fruitless as the former.
72	..	..	..	..	F.	C.	505	22×19	..	"Extrait de la lettre Générale de l'Assemblée des Directeurs de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales d'Angleterre à leur Président et Conseil du Bengal, datée du 2d d'Avril 1762." In virtue of this letter the agents of the Dutch East India Company are to be allowed to buy saltpetre for their Company, but not for any other European nation. Nos 71 and 72 are endorsed at p. 506: "Narré d'une conférence entre les Commissaires des deux Compagnies Orientales tenuë le 24e Juin 1763. Couché par ceux d'Angleterre en date du 1er Juillet 1763."

INDEX TO THE PAPERS—*contd.*

I.—*Letters from the Dutch Commissaries in London.*

No.	Place whence.	Date.	From	To	Language used.	Nature.	Pages.	Size in centimeters.	REMARKS.	Contents.
73	London . .	4th July 1763	The Dutch Commissaries in London.	The British Commissaries.	F.	..	507-516	23×19	..	"Suite du Mémoire ou Recueil des Commissaires Hollandois, du 30^{me} Décembre 1762." Endorsed (p. 518) : "Suite du Mémoire des conférences entre les Commissaires des deux Compagnies remis de la part de ceux de Hollande en date du 4^{e} Juillet 1763."
74	Do. . .	5th July 1763	C. van der Hoop .	E. de Vrij Temminck	D.	O.	519-526	23×19	..	
75	Do. . .	8th July 1763	The Dutch Commissaries in London.	The Dutch Commissaries at Amsterdam.	D.	O. S.	527-529	23×19	..	They refer to their letter of June 28, 1763. They have been shown Bisdom's so-called three original Persian letters on parchment, with translations, but have decided to ask for 'figurative' copies of these originals. [These letters had been lately received from Bengal by the British Commissaries.]
76	Hage . .	12th July 1763	Heer Griffier Fagel	C. van der Hoop .	D.	C.	531-532	23×19	..	Answer in connection with Nos 71, 72, 73.
77	London . .	19th July 1763	C. van der Hoop .	Heer Griffier Fagel .	D.	C.	533-534	23×19	..	Communicates Nos 76, 77, 79, 80.
78	Do. . .	19th July 1763	Do. .	E. de Vrij Temminck	D.	O.	535-538	23×19	..	
79	Do. . .	18th July 1763	The Dutch Commissaries in London.	The British Commissaries.	F.	C.	539-540	23×19	..	They ask for 'figurative' copies of Bisdom's letters.
80	..	..	..	..	D.	..	541	23×19	..	Translation of a letter signed "Brittannicus" addressed to the printer of the English Gazetteer, and published in its issue of July 16, 1763, wherein the writer expresses his fears that the Dutch reinforcement sent to the East are the outcome of the difficulties between the two Companies and indicate an impending breach of the peace.
81	London . .	22nd July 1763	The Dutch Commissaries in London.	The Dutch Commissaries at Amsterdam.	D.	O. S.	543-546	23×19	..	Acknowledges A. van Son's letter of July 15, 1763, and the resolution of the Chamber of July 13, 1763, by which the Dutch Commissaries in London are recalled. They are taking leave from the British Ministers and will be received in audience by the King "next Wednesday."
82	*No place* . .	*No date* . .	Do. . .	The British Commissaries.	F.	..	547-548	23×19	..	Requesting a last interview to take leave and obtain the 'figurative' copies of Bisdom's letters.

INDEX TO THE PAPERS—*contd.*

II.—Copies of Letters sent from Holland to the Dutch Commissaries in London.

No.	Place whence.	Date.	From	To	Language used.	Nature.	Pages.	Size in centimetres.
83	'sHage .	5th August 1762.	Augustinus van Son	The Dutch Commissaries in London.	D.	C.	551-552	32×20
84	Do. .	9th August 1762.	Do. . .	C. van der Hoop .	D.	C.	552	32×20
85	Do. .	13th August 1762.	Do. . .	Do. . .	D.	C.	552-553	32×20
86	Do. .	20th August 1762.	Do. . .	Do. . .	D.	C.	553-554	32×20
87	Do. .	10th September 1762.	Do. . .	The Dutch Commissaries in London.	D.	C.	554-555	32×20
88	Do. .	10th September 1762.	[Augustinus van Son]	C. van der Hoop .	D.	C.	555	32×20
89	Hage .	22nd October 1762.	E. de Vrij Temminck	Do. . .	D.	C.	556	32×20
90	Do. .	26th October 1762.	Do. . .	Do. . .	D.	C.	557-558	32×20
91	'sHage .	29th October 1762.	Do. . .	Do. . .	D.	C.	559-560	32×20
92	Amsterdam	23rd November 1762.	Augustinus van Son	The Dutch Commissaries in London.	D.	C.	560-561	32×20
93	Do. .	6th December 1762.	Do. . .	Do. . .	D.	C.	561	32×20
94	Do. .	21st December 1762.	Do. . .	C. van der Hoop .	D.	C.	562	32×20
95	Do. .	21st December 1762.	Do. . .	The Dutch Commissaries in London.	D.	C.	563-564	32×20
96	Do. .	25th January 1763.	Do. . .	Do. . .	D.	C.	565	32×20
97	Do. .	28th January 1763.	Do. . .	Do. . .	D.	C.	565-566	32×20
98	Do. .	8th February 1763.	Do. . .	Do. . .	D.	C.	566-567	32×20
99	'sHage .	6th May 1763	E. de Vrij Temminck	C. van der Hoop .	D.	C.	568-569	32×20
100	Do. .	15th July 1763	Augustinus van Son	The Dutch Commissaries in London.	D.	C.	569-570	32×20

INDEX TO THE PAPERS—*concld.*

III.—Detached Papers.

No.	Place whence.	Date.	From	To	Language used.	Nature.	Pages.	Size in centimetres.	REMARKS.
101	..	..	The Dutch Commissaries in London.	The British Commissaries.	F.	C.	575-608	32×20	Duplicate of No 38.
102	London	17th December 1762	C. van der Hoop	E. de Vrij Temminck	D.	C.	611-618	32×20	"Copie Missive van d'Heer van der Hoop, geschreven aan d'Heer Temminck, gedateert, London, den 17 December 1762." Duplicate of No 33, accompanied with "Memorie A." (*No 103*) and "Litt. B." (*No 104*).
103	..	..	..	..	D.	C.	619-622	32×20	"Memorie A." (See No 102.) Duplicate of No 34.
104	Hougly	28th June 1758	[The Dutch Directors and Council at Hugli.]	[The Council at Calcutta.]	D.	C.	623	32×20	"Die van Hougly aan het Caleats Ministerie." (S No 102). Duplicate of No 35.
105	Amsterdam	21st December 1762	Augustinus van Son	The Dutch Commissaries in London.	D.	C.	625	32×20	Duplicate of No 95.
106	East India House, Amsterdam.	28th December 1762	Do.	Jean Bichon van Ysselmonde and Jacob van Mandere d'Ouwerkerk.	D.	O.	627-628	32×20	
107	Rotterdam	31st December 1762	Jean Bichon van Ysselmonde.	Augustinus van Son	D.	O.	628	32×20	His opinion on No 106.
108	Middelburgh	5th January 1763	Jacob van Mandere d'Ouwerkerk.	Do	D.	O.	628-629	32×20	Do.
109	East India House Amsterdam.	31st December 1762	Augustinus van Son	Jacob van Maldere d'Ouwerkerk and Jean Bichon van Ysselmonde.	D.	O.	631	32×20	
110	Rotterdam	5th January 1763	Jean Bichon van Ysselmonde.	Augustinus van Son	D.	O.	631-632	32×20	His opinion on No 109.
111	Middelburgh	16th January 1763	Jacob van Maldere d'Ouwerkerk.	Do.	D.	O.	632	32×20	Do.
112	*No place*	19th January 1763	G. P. Boudaen.	?	D.	O.*	633	32×20	With original address and seal at p. 636.
113	*Do.*	21st January 1763	Augustinus van Son	Heer Griffier Fagel and Heer Raadpensionaris Steijn.	D.	O. S.	637-639	32×20	
114	..	..	Do.	Do.	D.	..	641-642	32½×20	Rough draft of No 113. "Concept Missive door den Hr. Advt. van Son te schrijve [*sic*] aen d'Hr. Raedpens. Steijn en Hr. Griffier Fagel."
115	Hage	25th January 1763	H. (?) Fagel	[Augustinus van Son]	D.	O.	645-646	23×19	
116	Do.	25th January 1763	P. (?) Steijn	Augustinus van Son	D.	O.	647-648	23×19	

Notes on the Early History of Manipur.

(By A. F. M. Abdul Ali, M.A., M.R.A.S., F.R.S.L., etc., Keeper of the Records of the Government of India.)

The Manipur State was known in the olden days, by a variety of names[1]. In Rennell's *Memoir* and maps of India it is called "Meckley." In Symes' *Narrative* and in maps of that period the State is called "Cassay." It has long been known in Cachar as "Mogli" which is apparently a form of "Meckley"[2]. Among the Shan and Burmese tribes the State was known by the name of "Ka-Se" or "Ka-the."

Physical features of Manipur. 2. The Native State of Manipur which lies far beyond the Ganges and the Brahmaputra on the N.E. frontier of India, comprises an area of about 8,000 sq. miles. It is bounded on the North by the Naga country and the hills overlooking the Assam Valley, on the West by the district of Cachar, on the East by Upper Burma and on the South by the Lushai hills. The Valley of Manipur, which is very fertile, extends over 650 sq. miles. Surgeon-General E. Balfour infers[3] that this Valley was at one time the bed of a large lake and that the sheet of water called the Logtak Lake is its remnant which is rapidly filling up, an opinion which is endorsed by the late Sir W. W. Hunter, Director-General of Statistics to the Government of India.[4]

Early History. 3. The early history of Manipur and its people is enveloped in darkness and the records written by the inhabitants since they became Hindus in 1714 A.D.[5] are so vague and legendary that they cannot be relied upon. But the fact cannot be ignored that this State has existed as an independent kingdom from a very early date and was originally peopled by several tribes which came from different directions. It is difficult to say what was the form of government before the year 700 A.D., but it is surmised that a monarchy[6] must have existed in those times. About 1250 A.D. a Chinese invasion on a big scale was repulsed by the Manipuris and a large number of the Chinese were made prisoners. These captives taught the Manipuris the art of rearing cocoons and some of them settled at Susa Rameng[7] in the Manipur Valley, where their descendants are still to be found. The Manipuris further learnt the art of brick-making from the Chinese who built two solid blocks of masonry in the palace,[8] between which the road to the Lion Gate passed. These blocks were destroyed by the Burmese invaders, but was rebuilt by Gambhir Singh.

Present Manipur: its inhabitants. 4. The present inhabitants of Manipur are a fine race of men descended from an Indo-Chinese stock, with some admixture of Aryan blood derived from successive waves of Aryan invaders that had passed along the Gangetic and Brahmaputra Valleys in prehistoric days. There is an order of priestess[9] in Manipur called 'the

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1 *A glossary of Anglo-Indian words* by Yule and Barnell, p. 597.
2 *The Cyclopedia of India* by Surgeon-General Balfour, p. 850.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 851.
4 *Imperial Gazetteer* by W. W. Hunter, Vol. IX, p. 324.
5 *Ibid.*, p. 326.
6 *My Experience in the Naga Hills and Manipur* by J. Johnstone, p. 80.
7 *Ibid.*
8 *Ibid.*
9 *The Cyclopedia of India* by Balfour, p. 850.

Maibee' said to have been founded by a certain princess of Manipur. The oldest family of Brahmans in the country is known as 'Hungoi-bun' derived from the word 'Hungoi', a frog. The name was given by the Manipuris to the first 'Brahman' whose frequent baths or ablutions to ensure the purity of the body filled them with astonishment.

Gharib Nawaz—the King.

5. The kingdom of Manipur—situated, as it is, in the heart of the difficult and mountainous country which stretches between Assam, Cachar, Burma and Chittagong—never attracted the serious attention of historians till it first came to public notice as an ally and neighbour of the Shan Kingdom of Pong,[1] which touched Tipperah, Yunan and Siam, and of which the city called 'Mogaung' by the Burmese and 'Mongmarong' by the Shans, was the capital. Even then, the history of Manipur is devoid of any interesting feature till it reaches the year 1714 A.D.[2] In that year a Naga, named Panheiba, became Raja of Manipur taking the name of "Gharib Nawaz." About the middle of the 18th century[3] a wandering Hindu ascetic told him that he had discovered that the Raja and his subjects were descended from Arjun (a hero of the Mahabharat) by a Naga woman and that they were consequently Kshattriyas of the Lunar Race. The King was so much elated at this new revelation of his high ancestry that he at once embraced Hinduism. There was an elaborate ceremony of purification after which he was invested with the sacred thread.[4]

Family history of Gharib Nawaz based on records.

6. As the early history of Manipur has not been exhaustively dealt with by any writer and as several important historical facts relating to the period, beginning with the reign of Gharib Nawaz up to the opening of relations between Manipur and the British, are buried in oblivion, some details concerning the history of the Hinduised Naga King, traced from the archives of the Imperial Government, may perhaps prove interesting to students of history.[5] The letter from Mr Verelst, Chief of Chittagong Factory, to Mr H. Vansittart, Governor of Bengal, dated 19th September 1762, throws a flood of light on the subject. We find from this letter that Gharib Nawaz had two wives. By the first, he had a son called Sham Shah, who also again had two sons, Gour Shah and Jai Singh. By his second wife, Gharib Nawaz had six children, *viz.*, Ajit Shah, Nun Shah, Tong Shah, Sarbosache, Bharat Shah and Sattrughna Shah. Under the influence of his second wife and his *guru* (or Vazir), Gharib Nawaz set aside the claims of Sham Shah and appointed Ajit Shah as his heir in about 1750. He even went so far as to renounce his throne in favour of Ajit Shah in his lifetime. About two years and a half after his resignation, Gharib Nawaz, who fought several battles with the Burmese between 1725 and 1749, undertook a journey to Burma with his son Sham Shah to settle some political differences. He was successful in his mission. While Gharib Nawaz and his son were absent in Burma, Ajit Shah heard rumours to the effect that his

[1] *Imperial Gazetteer* by W. W. Hunter, Vol. IX, p. 326; *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Vol. XVII, p. 582; and *Statistical Account of Assam* by Hunter, Vol. I, p. 309.
[2] *Imperial Gazetter* by Hunter, Vol. IX, p. 326.
[3] Census of Assam by E. A. Gait, p. 253, and Statistical Account of Assam by Hunter, Vol. II, p. 381.
[4] *Imperial Gazetteer* by Hunter, Vol. IX, p. 326.
[5] Public O. C. 4th October 1762, no. 5.

father was repenting the injustice he had done to Sham Shah and he intended to place him on the throne. Ajit Shah ordered some of his men to meet his father and brother on their return from Burma and under pretence of escorting them to murder them on the way. Thus Gharib Nawaz, Sham Shah and about twenty of the principal inhabitants of Manipur were treacherously massacred. This incident marked the beginning of a series of treacherous parricides and fratricides in the State of Manipur.

7. Bharat Shah (the fifth son of the second wife) came to know of the dark deeds of his brother, secretly formed a strong party of his own supporters and sent word to Ajit Shah to quit the country. Bharat Shah said that as "he abhorred the thought of dipping his hands in his brother's blood," Ajit Shah must leave the country and never think of returning to it again and to this proposal Ajit Shah was reluctantly compelled to agree. "Bharat Shah's action received the approval of the people and he was unanimously requested to take up the management of the State. On his death and after a year and a half the several Rajahs under the Government of Meckley (thirty-one in number) assembled to select his successor." They unanimously chose Gour Shah (eldest son of Sham Shah) to the vacant throne and he was "immediately proclaimed Rajah of Meckley" about the year 1758; an act of justice by which the direct succession of the line was restored. During this period the Burmese invaded Manipur and occupied the Capital. "Gour Shah, in his retreat from the enemy, fell from his horse and broke his leg." On this he invited his brother Jai Singh to try to retrieve the lost glory of his country by driving off the Burmese. Gour Shah also offered to abdicate the throne in his favour.

His successors.

8. Jai Singh accepted the proposal of his brother Gour Shah and began to collect troops for resisting the Burmese invasion. In the meantime the Burmese invaders received the news that the Peguers were in revolt and they had to leave Manipur after occupying it for 13 days. Jai Singh pursued them somewhat successfully and decided to continue the war against their foreign enemies. At about this time Ajit Shah, encouraged by the perilous position of his nephew Jai Singh, represented his case to the English through the Raja of Tipperah, and declared that he had been unjustly deposed from the throne and expelled from his country. When Jai Singh came to know of this he deputed his Vakil Haridas Gossain with a letter to Mr Verelst at Chittagong stating why his uncle Ajit Shah had been dethroned. The British examined the *pros* and *cons* of the case and were ultimately convinced of the guilt of Ajit Shah. They not only decided to support the claims of Jai Singh to the throne but also expressed their willingness to help him in the war against the Burmese. Haridas Gossain, Vakil of Jai Singh, proposed 9 articles or terms to Mr Verelst as the basis of an alliance to be negotiated between them on behalf of their respective masters. After some discussion the terms of the alliance[1] were finally settled on the 14th September 1762 and signed by Gossain at Chittagong. Diplomatic relations between the British and the State of Manipur date from that date. The following are the articles of the alliance proposed by Haridas Gossain

Proposed alliance with the British.

[1] Public progs., Vol. 1762, pp. 232—4.

on behalf of Jai Singh, Raja of Manipur, to Harry Verelst, Chief of Chittagong, acting on behalf of the Hon'ble United East India Company :—

(1) " That the said Jai Singh, his master, shall be assisted with such of the English troops as from time to time can be spared for the recovery of such lands and effects belonging to the said Jai Singh as he hath been dispossessed of by the Burmahs (Burmese)."

(2) " That for the assistance of such English troops the said Jai Singh is willing and ready to pay at the immediate expiration of every month all and every expense and contingent expenses of such troops then due so long as they may remain in his service."

(3) " That the said Jai Singh is willing and ready to join with all his force the said English forces to obtain full and ample satisfaction for all and every injury the said English have from time to time suffered by the Burmahs at the Negrairje (Negrais) or any other place during the said Burmah's administration when in any time in possession of Pegu."

(4) " That the said Jai Singh will, from the time of signing these articles, consider such injuries as have been done by the Burmahs (Burmese) to the said English as injuries done to himself and that the said Jai Singh will ever hereafter be ready to resent any new insult or hindrance the English trade or people may meet with at Pegu, the Negrairje (Negrais) or any other part or parts at present under the Government of the Burmah Rajah or the Rajah of Pegu—also every other power or Government that may interrupt the free trade of every English subject passing into and through their countries."

(5) " That the said Jai Singh will at all times fully consider every enemy to the said English as his own enemy and that the said English shall consider every enemy to the said Jai Singh as their enemy."

(6) " That the said Jai Singh shall grant such lands as the said English may think proper for the building of a Factory and Fort for the transaction of their business and protection of their persons and effects in every part under his Government and that whatever part the said English may fix on for their Factory and Fort the said Jai Singh shall also grant a distance of country round such Factory and Fort of eight thousand cubits to the said English free of rent for ever."

(7) " That the said Jai Singh shall grant permission to the English for an open trade into and through his country free of all duties, hindrance or molestation and that the said Jai Singh will ever protect and defend the said English in the same."

(8) " That the said Jai Singh shall not enter into any accommodation with the Burmah Rajah without the advice and approbation of the English nor shall the English enter into a separate and distinct

treaty with the Burmah Rajah without previously advising the said Jai Singh."

(9) "Should the English troops with those of Meckley be oblig d to march against the Burmah Rajah in order to obtain satisfaction for their mutual injuries received and in consequence make themselves masters of the Burmah Country the said Jai Singh doth then agree that should the said English then give him full possession of the said Burmah country he the said Jai Singh will then make good to the said English all such losses as they have ever heretofore sustained."

Possibilities of trade with China.

9. Haridas Gossain in his anxiety to secure British assistance for his master gave to Mr Verelst "a very particular account[1] of the situation of the different countries quite down to the Southern parts of Pegu" and also held out hopes of an extensive British trade from India to China. He wrote to Mr Verelst that "when the Mecklyans and Burmahs are upon amicable terms, the China merchants (would) bring their goods down as far as Moneypore, in any quantities they find a market for." He thus tried to convince Mr Verelst that the expulsion of the Burmese from the soil of Manipur and the securing of favourable terms from them would be of great commercial interest to the East India Company. Mr Verelst accordingly sent a copy of this alliance, executed by Haridas Gossain, to Mr H. Vansittart, requesting him at the same time to approve of all its conditions and to supply him with a force for the expedition. He emphasised the utility of this expedition as follows:—that "immediately on their arrival at Manipur they would be able to demand satisfaction from the Burmahs (Burmese) for all the injuries their nation (the British) have received from them at Negrais[2] and Pegu."

Proposal for Alliance considered by the Board.

10. The letter from Mr Verelst to Mr Vansittart and the paper containing the articles of alliance, referred to above, were placed by the latter as President before the Board for consideration on the 4th October 1762.[3] The Board were of opinion[4] that "the articles were very favourable and the carrying such an expedition into execution may be attended, if it proves successful, with great advantages to the Hon'ble Company, but as they judge it necessary and proper, before they proceed further, to call for the opinions of Colonel Coote and Major Carnac upon the subject, they order the Secretary to summon their attendance at a Council to be held on Monday next for that purpose." So the discussion was postponed till the next Consultation which was held on the 11th October 1762.[5] Colonel Coote being indisposed could not, however, attend the meeting but the President (Mr Vansittart) and Major Carnac being present, the consideration of the aforesaid subject (proposed alliance with the Raja of Manipur against the King of Burma) was resumed, when the President laid before the Board translations of some letters from Shah Alum, King of Delhi, and his Vazir Shuja-ud-daulah, earnestly applying for British help to gain possession of the Capital (Delhi).

[1] Public O. C. 4th October 1762, No. 5.

[2] In 1759 the British settlers at Negrais were massacred by the Burmese at the instigation of the French.

[3] Public progs., vol. 1762, p. 225.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 234.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 235.

Let us now turn for a moment to the affairs at the Mughal Court at Delhi. In 1759 Ghazi-ud-din, the Vazir, murdered Emperor Alamgir II. The Emperor's son who was then in Bihar on receipt of this news proclaimed himself king under the title of Shah Alum and appointed Shuja-ud-daulah, the Nawab of Oudh, as his Vazir. Ghazi-ud-din, who refused to acknowledge Shah Alum as king, raised an army to oppose his advance to the Capital. On this the Emperor Shah Alum and Shuja-ud-daulah sought the help of the British. The Board taking the grave situation mentioned in these letters[1] into consideration, decided "that it would be very imprudent at that juncture to detach any body of European troops to so distant a quarter as Meckley but at the same time held that they would not lose so favourable an opportunity of contracting an alliance with the Meckley Rajah as it might open a road to them for obtaining reparation from the Burmese for the repeated ill-treatment of the Factory at Negrairje (Negrais)."

The Board at last agrees to supply troops to Mr. Verelst.

11. The Board therefore came to the conclusion that for the present they "detach six Companies of Sepoys, four from hence (Calcutta) and two to be draughted from Capt. Grant's' Battalion at Chittagong under the Command of Lieutenant Archibald Swinton, with two other officers, Lieutenant John Stables and Ensign Scotland, to fix a post at Moneypoor (Manipur) and make themselves acquainted with the strength and disposition of the Burmahs (Burmese) and the situation of their Country." The Board further agreed "to write to their officers at the Chittagong Factory informing them of their aforesaid resolution and to acquaint them that Mr Verelst may either accompany the troops himself, or send Mr Marriott or Mr Rambold, either of whose orders they must in such case be directed to follow." The Board also recommended that "the gaining exact intelligence on the heads above mentioned, and cultivating the further friendship of the Meckley Rajah, should be the objects of their chief care, but that they are on no account to proceed any further or commence hostilities against the Burmahs (Burmese), until they shall receive our future orders in consequence of the intelligence they may receive and send us."

Manipur expedition under Mr. Verelst.

12. At last a detachment destined for the Meckley expedition safely reached Chittagong about December 1762.[2] In January 1763 it left Chittagong for Manipur under Mr Verelst. It reached Khaspur near Badarpur in April, but suffered so much from rain and disease amidst pestilential swamps that it melted away and the remnant fell back to Jainagar, on the left bank of the River Barak, whence they eventually returned to Bengal—thus recalling to memory the fateful retreat of Mir Jumla, under similar circumstances, from Assam where he led in 1662 A.D. the Imperial host of Aurangzib to annex it with the Mughal Empire.

Gour Shah's inability to pay ready money to the East India Company.

13. In the following year a declaration[3] was received from Chittagong dated 11th September 1763 from Gour Shah (again in temporary regal power), which while confirming all the articles of the aforesaid alliance pleaded his inability to pay in cash which he was bound to pay on behalf of Jai Singh to the English according to the second article of the alliance. But he agreed to meet the expenses referred

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[1] Public progs., vol. 1762, pp. 239—40.
[2] Volume of Records obtained from I. O., September 1762 to November 1764, p. 86.
[3] Public progs., vol. July—December 1763, pp. 1330—31.

to therein by the "products of Meckley." The following is the full text of Gour Shah's declaration :—"I am to observe that, since the Burmahs (Burmese) have overrun and destroyed a great part of the dominions of Meckley, it is not in my power to make such payments in actual species either of gold or silver. But I agree to pay all such expenses as have already accrued to the English in their late march towards Meckley and all such expense as hereafter may accrue to them in their future march to Meckley, to be paid from time to time in such goods and merchandize as are procurable in my country : and which I agree to deliver to the English at Raung Roong at their annexed rates[1] and conditions, but such quantities as are specified in the annexed list[2] shall be delivered as the first payment immediately on the English troops getting up to Meckley. And I am now willing to pay in ready money towards this agreement five hundred Meckley gold rupees to be valued at twelve silver rupees each. So soon as the English shall enable me to work the gold mine on the banks of the River Brahmaputra in the dominions of Meckley, as well as any other mines of gold, silver, lead, iron, tin, copper, precious stones and mines of all kinds whatever, now known or what hereafter may be discovered in Meckley, I am willing and agree to pay all expenses in the working of the said mines ; and also to give the English three-fourths of products of the same towards defraying the general expense of their troops in my employ. Which products with my goods and merchandize I agree to pay them from time to time till the whole expense of their assisting me is discharged. When and on all accounts between us being settled and adjusted, I am then to be released from any such further stipulated payments. But hereby agree that the said English are to reside in Meckley as merchants on the full terms and privileges as are stipulated in the Treaty of the 14th September 1762." The products of Meckley which Gour Shah agreed to pay annually to the East India Company towards the expenses of their troops employed on his account in Manipur were valued at Rs. 56,850 (Annexe A).[3] Out of this Gour Shah agreed to pay within one month after the arrival of the English troops at Raung Roong articles valued at Rs. 26,050 (Annexe B).[4] It does not appear from the records whether the balance of the articles was supplied to the East India Company. Probably this was not done for we find that the British at this stage broke off the negotiations.

Jai Singh and the quarrel among his sons.

14. Jai Singh died in 1799, on his way to a pilgrimage at Bhagwangola, in Murshidabad district, after a long and chequered reign of nearly 40 years. His eldest son Harsha Chandra succeeded him, but was murdered, after a reign of two years. Jai Singh's second son who was the next king also met with the same fate 5 years later. A third son, Chaurjit Singh, ascended the vacant throne, and the fourth, Marjit Singh, thereupon engaged in a series of useless conspiracies. On the invitation of Marjit Singh the King of Ava invaded Manipur in 1812. Chaurjit Singh and his youngest brother Gambhir Singh fled and Marjit Singh was placed on the throne. Marjit Singh put to death all other likely rival candidates to the throne.

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[1] Annexe A, p. 20.
[2] Annexe B, p. 21.
[3] Public progs., Vol. 1763, pp. 1331—2.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 1332.

In 1818 he invaded Cachar. Its king Govinda Chandra, failing to get British help, solicited the aid of Chaurjit Singh who was at that time living in Jaintia, after his dethronement. The latter at once came to his assistance. Marjit Singh promptly retreated to Manipur while Chaurjit Singh established himself in the South of Cachar which Gobinda Chandra is said to have promised him as a reward for his services. In the following year the Burmese again attacked Manipur and drove Marjit to Cachar. He now became reconciled to his brother Chaurjit and helped him to drive away Govinda Chandra from Cachar. In 1823 their nephew Pitambar Singh led a force into Manipur and dispossessing a man named Subal who had been installed by the Burmese, proclaimed himself king. Gambhir Singh thereupon collected a small force and marched against Pitambar and defeated him. Pitamber fled to Ava, but Manipur was by this time so utterly exhausted that Gambhir Singh was unable to maintain his troops there and was forced to return to Cachar. There he quarrelled with Chaurjit who retired to Sylhet. At about this time the Burmese again took possession of Manipur and prepared themselves for an attack on Cachar. This was prevented by the intervention of the British who restored Govinda Chandra to the throne of Cachar. They also assisted Gambhir Singh to regain Manipur. This arrangement was confirmed by the Treaty of Yandabu which was executed between the British and the Burmese in 1826.

ANNEXE A.

Products of Meckley which Gour Shah agreed to give annually to the East India Company.

(1)	Silk	10 maunds	@ Rs. 5	per seer	2,000
(2)	Iron	1,000 „	@ Rs. 4	per maund	4,000
(3)	Copass	1,000 „	@ Rs. 1½	„ „	1,500
(4)	Dammer	1,000 „	@ Rs. 1½	„ „	1,500
(5)	Wood oil	1,000 „	@ Rs. 1½	„ „	1,500
(6)	Wax	500 „	@ Rs. 20	„ „	10,000
(7)	Elephant teeth	100 „	@ Rs. 20	„ „	2,000
(8)	Agar	100 „	@ Rs. 4	„ seer	16,000
(9)	Camphor	10 „	@ Rs. 80	„ maund	800
(10)	Black thread	100 „	@ Rs. 20	„ „	2,000
(11)	Red „	100 „	@ Rs. 20	„ „	2,000
(12)	Blue „	100 „	@ Rs. 20	„ „	2,000
(13)	White „	200 „	@ Rs. 20	„ „	4,000
(14)	Black Coss	10 „	@ Rs. 2	„ seer	800
(15)	Meckley cloths	500 pieces	@ Rs. 1½	„ piece	750
(16)	„ gold rupees	500	@ 12 Silver rupees each		6,000
				TOTAL ...	56,850

ANNEXE B.

Products which Gour Shah promised to deliver within one month after the arrival of the English troops.

(1) Silk	5 maunds.
(2) Iron	500 ,,
(3) Copass	500 ,,
(4) Dammer	500 ,,
(5) Wax	250 ,,
(6) Elephant teeth	50 ,,
(7) Agar	20 ,,
(8) Black thread	50 ,,
(9) Red ,, ...	50 ,,
(10) Blue ,, ...	50 ,,
(11) White ,, ...	100 ,,
(12) Meckley cloths	500 pieces.
(13) ,, gold rupees	150

Minutes of the proceedings of the Members' Meeting of the India Historical Records Commission—held in the Secretary's Room at Government Place, West, Calcutta, on Saturday, the 13th January 1923, at 11 a.m.

Present.

1. The Hon'ble Mr. H. E. A. COTTON, C.I.E. (in the Chair).
2. Prof. L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS, M.A., B.LITT. (Oxon.), O.B.E.
3. Prof. JADUNATH SARKAR, M.A., I.E.S.
4. Mr. B. K. THAKORE, B.A., Professor of History, Deccan College, Poona.
5. Mr. P. DIAS, Keeper of Records, Bengal.
6. Mr. P. C. NAHAR, M.A., B.L. (Co-opted).
7. Mr. BADRUDDIN AHMAD, B.A., Keeper of Records, High Court, Calcutta (Co-opted).
8. Mr. R. B. RAMSBOTHAM, M.A., M.B.E. (Co-opted).
9. Mr. R. K. RANADIVE, M.A. (Baroda, Co-opted).
10. Mr. J. M. MEHTA (Baroda, Co-opted), and
11. Mr. A. F. M. ABDUL ALI, M. A., F.R.S.L., *Secretary.*

I.—Weeding of pre-mutiny records in the Imperial Record Department.

A report in this connection had been circulated to the members by the Sub-Committee appointed [1] for the purpose.

The report was unanimously accepted and it was resolved—

Resolution I.—That the Government of India be advised to act upon it.

II.—Review of the action taken on the resolutions of the Commission passed at their fourth meeting.

In this connection a conspectus of the action taken by the Government of India, the Local Governments, and the Native States on the resolutions of the Indian Historical Records Commission passed at their fourth meeting was laid on the table.[2]

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[1] *See* Appendix A.
[2] *See* Appendix B.

Action taken on Resolutions I to VI[1] was approved by the meeting.

In regard to resolutions VII[2] passed at the fourth meeting of the Commission, Mr. Thakore (with whom the proposal originated) pointed out that his proposal was that the source book might deal with the material according to its importance, that is to say, (*a*) in most important cases, it might give full and literal translations; while (*b*) in regard to the bulk of the material fair summaries; and (*c*) in respect to the rest, a sentence or two would suffice to indicate the main subject-matter.

He informed the meeting that he was working at the period 1761-72 and that his book, illustrating the above classification in the concrete, would be ready by the end of the year.

Professor Sarkar pointed out that the resolution was duly brought to the notice of the Bombay Government but they had not yet been favoured with a reply, although His Excellency Sir George Lloyd had said at their third meeting that information about the proposed source-book and the possibility of obtaining pecuniary contributions towards its publication would be furnished to the Commission.

At the suggestion of the Chairman, it was unanimously resolved—

Resolution II.—That the Secretary should address the Government of India in the matter giving the past history of the case and asking for information on behalf of the Commission, as to what action had been taken by the local Government regarding the proposed source-book on Marhatta history.

Mr. Thakore suggested that they might remind the Government of Bombay about the desirability of consulting experts like Messrs. Parasnis and Sardesai as to the best method of dealing with the *Peshwa's daftar* so that a handbook of these records might be prepared for the guidance of historical students. A communication had been addressed to the Bombay Government in pursuance of resolution VII passed at the fourth meeting of the Commission, but no reply had been received.

The Secretary was directed to incorporate this point in his letter to the Government of India.

In regard to resolution VIII[3], the meeting agreed with the opinion of the Government of India contained in their letter addressed to the Local Governments that there was no necessity for a central Historical Association.

As to the second part of the resolution[3], regarding records in Indian States, Mr. Ranadive remarked that the Baroda Durbar were informing the Government of India as to what they were doing with the historical materials in their archives. The papers have been listed but the printed list is in vernacular. A handbook however in English would shortly be issued. He also informed the meeting that in Baroda they did not want any general help from the Commission for sifting or preserving the papers but that they might require help on particular occasion.

[1] *See* Resolutions in Appendix B.
[2] *See* Resolution in Appendix B. Also *vide* progs. Vol. I, page 8.
[3] *See* Resolution in Appendix B.

In the discussion which followed, the names of Hyderabad, Jaipur, the Phulkian States, the Central India States, Mysore and Travancore were mentioned, and it was resolved—

Resolution III.—(*i*) That the Commission recommend to the Government of India that a circular letter should be sent by the Political Department to all the Ruling Princes and Chiefs requesting them to inform the Commission as to the nature date and extent of the old historical materials (prior to 1850) in their respective archives, and also whether they were in need of any expert help for the purposes of sifting, preserving and publishing the same.

(*ii*) That the Commission recommend to the Government of India the desirability of inviting His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad and His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur to send one representative each to the next and succeeding meetings of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

In regard to Resolution IX[1], it was resolved—

Resolution IV.—That the Government of India should be asked to remind the United Provinces Government as regards the desirability of creating a Record Department in their province.

III.—Progress made in the Imperial Record Department in the preparation of a descriptive handbook and calendars.

The Secretary reported that the Handbook was almost ready for the press.

The Secretary was directed to circulate copies of the manuscripts to members of the Commission before sending the same to the press.

Professor Jadunath Sarkar stated that he had been through the manuscripts and had made some suggestions to the Secretary.

Regarding the preparation of calendars of General Letters to and from the Court of Directors the Commission were of opinion that the work should be continued.

IV.—Rev. H. Hosten's proposal to re-visit Mylapore and the question of defraying his travelling expenses.

The Secretary doubted if the Government of India would agree to incur any expenditure on Rev. Hosten's scheme for re-visiting Mylapore. The Chairman suggested that the best thing to convince the Government of the importance of the Rev. Hosten's work would be to draw attention to his exhibits.[2]

It was resolved—

Resolution V.—That the Government of India be asked in view of the extreme importance of the information which is likely to be discovered by the Rev. H. Hosten, to sanction an amount for his travelling expenses not exceeding the sum paid last year, to enable him to continue his inquiries at Mylapore.

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[1] *See* Resolution in Appendix B.

[2] Appendix C.

V.—*Miscellaneous.*

(i) *Next Session of the Commission.*

Resolution VI.—It was resolved to hold the next session of the Commission at Madras about the middle of January 1924.

(2) *Calcutta High Court Records.*

In this connection Mr. Badruddin Ahmad drew attention to item IV of the proceedings of the first session of the Commission (Proceedings Vol. 1, page 4) and said that the old records of the Mayor's Court, the Court of Quarter Sessions and the Supreme Court were in a very bad state of preservation in the rooms of the Calcutta High Court.

It was resolved—

Resolution VII.—That the Government of India be recommended (1) to approach his Lordship the Chief Justice of Bengal with regard to the better preservation, classification, arrangement, repairing and indexing of the old records of the Mayor's Court, the Court of Quarter Sessions and the Supreme Court, as has been done in the case of the old records of the Sadar Diwani and Sadăr Nizamat Adalat, in view of their historical importance, and (2) to invite their Lordships the Chief Justices of Madras and Bombay to report on the condition of the records in their High Courts prior to the establishment of the High Court in each Presidency.

(3) *Reading of Papers.*

The Chairman drew attention to the lengthy and irrelevant character of certain papers which were read at the meeting of the Commission the day before, and after a discussion it was resolved—

Resolution VIII.—That in future papers to be read before the Commission should deal with the records only or with the interpretation of historical records and that they must not be of a general character.

The Secretary was directed to get a summary of the papers intended to be read before the Commission, at least a month in advance and to accept only such as are relevant in character. A time limit of 15 minutes was fixed for each paper.

(4) *Reports issued by Provincial Governments, etc.*

The Secretary placed on the table copies of reports received from different provincial Governments regarding the work of their Record Departments. He read a letter from the Punjab Government regretting that the state of their finances does not allow of their proceeding with the press-lists of the Punjab records beyond 1858.

Lists of historical manuscripts discovered by search parties in Assam and of inscriptions on tombs or monuments in Assam were also placed on the table for the information of the Commission.

(5) Old Dutch Records in the Judge's Court at Chinsura.

Mr. Ramsbotham drew the attention of the Commission to the old Dutch records which were kept in the office of the District Judge of Hughli at Chinsura and said that they were kept in a room with a damp floor and that they ought to be removed from there.

It was resolved—

Resolution IX.—That the Government of India should be approached with a view to the transfer of the old Dutch records from the District Judge's Office at Chinsura to the Record Department of the India Office.

(6) Scheme for a Central Judicial Records Office.

The meeting recorded the following note in connection with the above scheme:—

The Commission have heard with satisfaction of a scheme initiated by the Hon'ble the High Court at Fort William in Bengal for the establishment of a Central Judicial Records Office in Calcutta in which all the records now stored in the various District Judges' Offices in Bengal shall be collected and preserved and they would be glad to know whether arrangements of this kind are being made by the other High Courts in India. With regard to the records in Collectors' Offices they will be glad to know what arrangements have been made by the various Governments for their preservation.

(7) Hatchments of Dutch Settlers in the Chinsura Church.

Mr. Ramsbotham drew the attention of the Commission to the bad state of preservation of these hatchments.

It was resolved—

Resolution X.—That the Government of India should be asked to approach the Netherlands Government with regard to taking steps for the preservation of the hatchments of the Governors of the Dutch Settlement at Chinsura now hanging in the Church at Chinsura which was formerly used as the old Council Chamber of the Dutch Company.

(8) Old Danish Records at Serampore.

The Chairman drew the attention of the Commission to the old Danish Records which might be found at Serampore.

It was resolved—

Resolution XI.—That the Government of India should be approached with a view to the transfer to the India Office of the Danish Company's records which it is believed are now stored in the Record Room of the Sub-divisional Officer of Serampore.

A. F. M. ABDUL ALI,

Secretary.

APPENDIX A.

Report of the Sub-Committee of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

As a result of personal investigation and scrutiny of a number of record-bundles, press-listed and unlisted, flattened and unflattened, the Sub-Committee has arrived at the following conclusions, which it begs to lay before the Members of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

First.—That the contents of the Record Rooms may usefully be divided into the three following classes :—

A. Documents of historical importance including materials for social and economic history.

B. Documents of personal and antiquarian interest.

C. All other documents.

Secondly.—With a view to the advancement of historical learning, as well as to the convenience of students and research workers, the Sub-Committee considers that concurrently with the work of press-listing, the contents of the Record Room should be so sifted and classified as to separate class C of the documents from classes A and B.

Thirdly.—With a view to carrying into effect the above recommendation, the Sub-Committee proposes that the Indian Historical Records Commission do recommend to the Government of India the appointment of a Standing Local Sub-Committee of the Indian Historical Records Commission consisting of residents of Calcutta, to co-operate with the Keeper of Records in the work of sifting and classification and that this Standing Local Sub-Committee do consist of the Hon'ble Mr. H. E. A. Cotton, C.I.E., as Chairman: Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali as ex-officio Secretary: Dr. T. O. D. Dunn, I.E.S., Rai Bahadur J. M. Mitra : such of these gentlemen as are not at present Members of the Indian Historical Records Commission being co-opted Members for this purpose.

Fourthly.—That the Standing Local Sub-Committee shall be empowered in co-operation with the Keeper of Records, to supervise the weeding and sifting of the documents, to supervise the work of press-listing, and to recommend to the Government of India such changes in the existing methods of sorting, classification, listing and location as may seem to the members desirable.

Fifthly.—The Standing Local Sub-Committee shall be empowered to refer any matters of doubt and difficulty to the Indian Historical Records Commission for decision and final recommendation to the Government of India.

Sixthly —That the Standing Local Sub-Committee do present every year, in the Members' Meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission, a report briefly indicating the scope and nature of the work accomplished during the previous twelve months.

Seventhly.—With regard to the question of the destruction of certain records, put to us in Mr. M. S. D. Butler's letter, we are of the opinion that no pre-mutiny record of any class whatever should be destroyed unless its destruction is recommended by the Standing Local Sub-Committee and approved by the Commission after such inspection as any other member of the Commission might wish to make. The Sub-Committee recommend that such records as are weeded out should be handed over to learned societies or local Governments if they are willing to preserve them, in preference to the destruction of such records.

Sd. L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS.

11th January 1923. „ H. E. A. COTTON.

„ JADUNATH SARKAR.

APPENDIX B.

Conspectus of the action taken by the Government of India and the local Governments and the Native States on the resolutions of the Indian Historical Records Commission passed at their Fourth Meeting.

Resolutions of the Commission.	Orders of the Government of India.	Action taken by local Governments or Native States.	REMARKS.
In connection with the decision of the third meeting of the Commission that enquiry should be made as to whether Mr. R. S. Whiteway had left any manuscript materials as the result of his examination of the State records in Portugal it was pointed out that the enquiry should be addressed to the India Office and not to the Government of Bombay, as the latter might not have any information on the subject.	An enquiry was made and a copy of the reply from the India Office has been received in this department. It is laid on the table.		
Resolution II.—The Commission decided that calendaring of General Letters to and from the Court of Directors in the Imperial Record Department should begin from 1749 instead of 1757.	This has been approved by the Government of India and calendaring in the Imperial Record Department has been begun from 1749.		
Resolution III.—The Commission refused to grant a subsidy to Maulavi Zafar Hasan for publishing the "Khulasat-ut-Tawrikh" as it did not come within the scope of the Commission, the object of which is to assist in the publication of original records or studies based on them. It was further resolved that no applications for grants towards any publications should ordinarily be entertained unless the Commission has previously been consulted in the matter.	The Government of India agreed with the Commission.		
Resolution IV.—Rev. H. Hosten's representation on the subject of his travelling allowance for his journey to Mylapore, Madras etc. was considered by the Commission and it was decided that instead of second class he should be granted first class travelling allowance and that as his journey took more than six weeks, the restriction that his journey should be limited to that period should be relaxed.	In modification of previous orders, travelling allowance at first class rates from the grant for the Indian Historical Records Commission was sanctioned and the restriction of six weeks' limit was removed. [Rev. Hosten's travelling allowance bill amounted to Rs. 819-2-0.]		

APPENDIX B

Conspectus of the action taken by the Government of India and the local Governments and the Native States on the resolutions of the Indian Historical Records Commission passed at their Fourth Meeting—contd.

Resolutions of the Commission.	Orders of the Government of India.	Action taken by local Governments or Native States.	REMARKS.
Resolution V.—The Commission agreed with the Government of Madras that fresh lists of European burial grounds with inscription on tombs are not necessary for Madras unless it is definitely proved that the existing lists are full of errors.	The Government of India agree that no revision of the lists is necessary just at present. Copy of the Resolution forwarded to local Governments.		
Resolution VI.—It was decided that there was no objection to the Bantam Letter Book (1679-83) being transferred from Bombay (where there were no other records from Java or any part of the East Indies) to the India Office which possesses a collection of records from Bantam of the 17th Century, that a letter to the India Office should be written on the subject and that the Bombay Government should be informed.	The letter book was forwarded to the India Office which acknowledged its receipt with the following remarks:— "The Bantam Letter Book, 1679-83, has safely arrived and has been incorporated in our series of *Factory Records Java* as Vol. 7A. It is undoubtedly more in place there than in the Bombay Record Office and we are glad to possess it."		
Resolution VII.—At the 3rd meeting of the Commission held at Bombay, His Excellency the Governor said that information about the proposed source-book on Mahratta History during the 17th and 18th Centuries and the possibility of obtaining pecuniary contributions towards the expenses of its publication would be furnished by the Director of Public Instruction; the Commissioners enquired how far the Bombay Government had advanced in this matter, and also suggested for the consideration of the Government of Bombay the desirability of consulting experts in Mahratta history (like Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis and Mr. G. S. Sardesai) as to the best method of dealing with the *Peshwa's Daftar*, so that a hand-list of these records might be prepared for the guidance of historical students.	The Resolution was brought to the notice of the local Government for consideration.		

APPENDIX B.

Conspectus of the action taken by the Government of India and the local Governments and the Native States on the resolutions of the Indian Historical Records Commission passed at their Fourth Meeting—contd.

Resolutions of the Commission.	Orders of the Government of India.	Action taken by local Governments or Native States.	REMARKS.
Resolution VIII.—With regard to a proposal from Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan for the formation of a Historical Association it was decided that the President should address a circular letter to the various Universities and learned societies drawing their attention to the proposal and suggesting that the initiative should be taken by Universities on the subject and that the question of representation of historical societies on the Association should be decided after the Association had been formed.	The following letter was addressed to the local Governments :— "The Government of India feel doubtful about the necessity of a Central Historical Association as some of the local associations are doing good work. In their opinion every useful purpose would be amply served if the Historical societies and Universities are addressed as to the possibility of holding a conference, say once a year, for the co-ordination of their work. I am to request that if the Government of *Madras* etc. have no objection, necessary steps may be taken to bring the matter to the notice of the Universities and Historical Associations in Madras etc."		
The Commission recommended to the Government of India the desirability of its requesting the Indian States to inform the Commission as to the nature, date and extent of the old historical materials (prior to 1850) in their respective archives, and also whether they needed any expert help for the purpose of sifting, preserving, and publishing the same.	The Resolution was communicated to the Indore and Baroda Darbars for ascertaining their views.	The Government of His Highness the Maharaja Holkar is inclined to view the suggestions with favour and would await further development in this matter before making any specific observations as to the course which it would like to adopt.	
Resolution IX.—The Commission was of opinion that the creation of a Record Department in the United Province will considerably assist historical research in the Province.	The Government of India commended the Resolution to the consideration of the local Government.		

APPENDIX C.

Descriptive List of Historical Manuscripts, Paintings etc. exhibited at Calcutta in connection with the Fifth Meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

From the Imperial Record Department

MAPS AND PLANS

1. Plan of the Territory of Calcutta as marked out in the year 1742 exhibiting likewise the Military Operations at Calcutta when attacked and taken by Siraj-ud-Daulah on the 18th of June 1756.
2. Plan of Fort William and part of the City of Calcutta, 1753, by Lt. William Wills.
3. Plan of the European population in old Calcutta, 1753.
4. Bengal Atlas by J. Rennell—containing maps of the theatre of War and Commerce of Hindustan, 1781.
5. Map of Calcutta and its environs in the years 1792-3, by A. Upjohn.

MANUSCRIPT RECORDS INCLUDING TREATIES AND FARMANS

6. Mr. J. Reed's minute dated 7 Oct. 1771 regarding the division of the establishment of the pergunnah sepoys. Holograph. (Pub. Con. 7 Oct. 1771, no 8)
7. Lord Auckland's minute on the promotion of education among the natives of India. (G. G.'s Pub. Con. 24 Nov. 1839, no 10)
8. Original notes and minutes on the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India by Lord William Bentinck, Governor General, the Hon. A. Ross and the Hon. Lt-Col. W. Morrison, C.B., Members of the Supreme Council, and Mr. H. T. Prinsep, Secretary to the Government of India in the General Department: there are notes and remarks in pencil on Mr. Prinsep's minute by the Hon. T. B. (afterwards Lord) Macaulay, Member of the Supreme Council. February-March 1835. (Pub. Con. 7 Mar. 1835, no 19 and Keep-withs)
9. Letter from the Hon. H. Vansittart to Mr. Peter Amyatt and other gentlemen of the Council at Fort William, dated 20 Sep. 1762, regarding the question of the purchase of a garden house for the Governor at Rs. 10,000. Holograph. (Pub. Con. 20 Sep. 1762, no 3)

From the Imperial Record Department—*contd.*

MANUSCRIPT RECORDS INCLUDING TREATIES AND FARMANS—*contd.*

10. Letter from Mr. W. Verelst to the Hon. H. Vansittart, dated Islamabad 19 Sep. 1762, regarding the early history and the contemporary political situation in Manipur. Holograph. (Pub. Con. 4 Oct. 1762, no 5)

11. Letter from Capt. W. Richardson submitting a report of his voyage from London to purchase slaves for Fort Marlbro. (Pub. Con. 22 Aug. 1765, no 1)

12-13. Minutes by Lord Clive regarding Mr. Burdett's behaviour and his resignation. Holographs. (Pub. Con. 2 Sep. 1765, no 2 (*a*))

14-16. Letter from Mr. Alexander Campbell submitting certain regulations for the establishment of a Gold Currency. (Pub. Con. 2 Jan. 1766, no 1 (*b*)) Minute by Mr. Hugh Watts on the same subject. Holograph. (Pub. Con 9 Jun. 1766, no 1) Copy of a notice on the same subject. (Pub. Con. 28 Jul. 1766, no 12)

17-18. Lord Clive's proposals for appropriating the legacy of five lakhs of rupees conferred upon him by Nawab Mir Jafar, and the present of three lakhs of rupees made to His Lordship by Nawab Najm-ud-Daulah, to the benefit of the Company's invalid servants and widows of those who lost their lives in the Company's service. Among the enclosures are translations of three certificates concerning the legacy of five lakhs (attested 12 Jan. 1767) given by Nawab Najm-ud-Daulah, his mother, *i.e.*, wife of Nawab Mir Jafar, and Maharaja Nanda Kumar. (Pub. Con. 14 Apl. 1766, no 2 and 20 Jan. 1767, no 6)

19. Minute by Mr. H. Verelst on his accession to the Government of the Bengal Presidency. Holograph. (Pub. Con. 29 Jan. 1767, no 3)

20. *Farmans* relating to the English trade in India particularly in Bengal and Orissa, 1633-1712. These are grants or orders made by Muhammadan rulers and Governors and comprise rotographs of eight documents obtained from the India Office, with English translations.

21. Treaty with King Christen VIII of Denmark for transferring the Dutch settlements in India to the English, dated 22 Feb. 1845.

22. Communication in Latin from Emperor Joseph II of Austria, dated Vienna 8 Jul. 1792, to Haidar Ali regarding the appointment of Mr. W. Bolts as his Consul and Lt. Imues as Inspector. Bears the signature of the Emperor.

23. Origin, progress and present state of the Pindaris and the Marathas, 1811-21. (Ms. vol.)

24. A geographical sketch of the Punjab together with a history of the origin, life and progress of Raja Ranjit Singh, 1830.

25. Agreement with Raja Surgo Deo, of Assam, requiring him to defray the expenses of the East India Company's troops serving in Assam. Bears

From the Imperial Record Department—*contd.*

MANUSCRIPT RECORDS INCLUDING TREATIES AND FARMANS—*contd.*

the seals of the Raja and his Minister, the Bura Fogan.. (Pol. Con. 24 Feb. 1794, no 16)

26. An interesting account of the ancient system of Government in Assam, its political and religious conditions and commercial aspects. (Pol. Con. 24 Feb. 1794, no 3-A)

27. Minute by Brigadier-General Sir Robert Barker, Commander-in-Chief, on the formation of a militia for the internal protection of the country and the collection of revenues. (Sec. Con. 28 Jan. 1773, no 2)

28. From Bahu Begam, mother of Nawab Asaf-ud-Daulah of Oudh, complaining against the behaviour of his son and asking for the assistance of the Governor General in sending the coffin of her late husband Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah to *Karbala*. (15 Nov. 1778, no 117)

29. From Nawab Asaf-ud-Daulah, of Oudh. Complimentary letter written in characteristic Shikastah style. Bears the seal of the Nawab. (3 Nov. 1784, no 86)

30. From Nana Farnavis, Minister of the Peshwa, asking the Governor General to send military assistance to the Peshwa and the Nizam against Tipu Sultan. Bears the seal of the writer. (14 Nov. 1785, no 94)

31. From Ali Ibrahim Khan, Judge at Benares, reporting that the Marathas have released Shah Alam from the room in which he was confined by Ghulam Qadir Khan after having been blinded by him. (24 Oct. 1788, no 501)

32. From Haidar Beg Khan, a Minister of Nawab Asaf-ud-Daulah of Oudh. Congratulatory letter on the recovery of the King of England from his illness. (11 Aug. 1789, no 175)

33. From Tipu Sultan, saying that he has sent his *vakils* to the Governor General in order to negotiate a treaty of peace with the East India Company. Bears the seal of Tipu. (12 Feb. 1792, no 114)

34. From the Peshwa, Baji Rao II, on the subject of a negotiation with Tipu Sultan. Bears the seal of the Peshwa. (20 Sep. 1798, no 361)

35. From Raja Bhim Singh, of Jodhpur, promising not to give protection to Wazir Ali Khan and his associates who had murdered Mr. G. Cherry, Agent of the Governor General at Benares. Bears the seal of the Raja. (1 Jul. 1799, no 174)

36. From Nizam Ali Khan, Nizam of Hyderabad, intimating that he has made over to Captain Kirkpatrick copies of the correspondence which passed between him and Tipu Sultan. Bears the seal of the Nizam. (10 Feb. 1799, no 19)

NOTE—Nos 28-36 are original Persian letters received.

From the Imperial Record Department—*contd.*

MANUSCRIPT RECORDS INCLUDING TREATIES AND FARMANS—*contd.*

37. From Maharaja Krishna Raja Wodeyar, of Mysore, expressing his gratitude on being released and restored to the kingdom of his ancestors which had been usurped by the dynasty of Tipu Sultan. Bears the seal of the Maharaja. (12 Jul. 1799, no 198)

38. From Nawab Saadat Ali Khan of Oudh, intimating that Wazir Ali Khan has absconded after having killed Mr. G. Cherry, Agent of the Governor General, and four other gentlemen at Benares. Bears the seal of the Nawab. (12 Feb. 1799, no 25)

39. From Nawab Saadat Ali Khan of Oudh, intimating that Wazir Ali Khan has been arrested in Jaipur and made over to Mr. Collins. Bears the seal of the Nawab. (21 Dec. 1799, no 435)

40. From Raja Partab Singh, of Jaipur, informing the Governor General that Wazir Ali Khan has arrived in his country and is now in his custody. (17 Sep. 1799, no 260)

41. A manuscript showing various styles of Persian calligraphy. (Illuminated folios)

42. Letter from Mr. Henry Vansittart, intimating that he will continue to hold the charge of the Government. Holograph. (Pub. Con. 30 Oct. 1764, no 2)

43. Letter from Mr. Richard Barwell, Sub-Accountant, making certain suggestions regarding the keeping of books. Holograph. (Pub. Con. 17 Dec. 1764, no 1)

44-48. Copies of *farmans* from the Mughul Emperor Shah Alam granting the *Diwani* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the East India Company and copy of an agreement between the Company and the Nawab of Murshidabad, the previous *Diwan*, in consequence of the above grant. (Pub. Con. 9 Sep. 1765, nos 2-6)

49. Translation of an address, dated 13 Dec. 1788, from the principal members of the Greek Church in Bengal to the Court of Directors, eulogising the administration of Warren Hastings. (Pub. Con. 9 Jan. 1789, no 21)

50. Letter from Warren Hastings to the Council, intimating the cession of Kora and Allahabad to the *Nawab Vazir* of Oudh in consideration for a sum of fifty lakhs of rupees and also his having settled certain other matters with the Nawab. (Sec. Con. 23 Sep. 1773, no 3)

51-53. Letter from Mr. T. C. Plowden, Sheriff of Calcutta, to the Chief Secretary to Government, dated 26 Oct. 1827, requesting permission to convene a meeting of the British merchants and other inhabitants of Calcutta at the Town Hall to discuss the question of equalising the duties on East

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NOTE—Nos 37-40 are original Persian letters received.

From the Imperial Record Department—*contd.*

MANUSCRIPT RECORDS INCLUDING TREATIES AND FARMANS—*contd.*

and West India Sugar and other matters. The meeting was allowed by the Governor General. (Pub. Con. 1 Nov. 1827, nos 1-3)

54-62. Title deeds of Belvedere, the official residence of the former Lieut.-Governors of Bengal, situated at Alipore in the southern quarter of Calcutta. There are altogether twenty-nine documents of various dates ranging from 1780 to 1868, of which nine were exhibited. The three earliest ones, which are dated 4, 5 and 7 Feb. 1780, relate to the leasing of the site by Warren Hastings to Lt-Col. William Tolly, a distinguished engineer in the East India Company's service, who constructed the water-course known as Tolly's *Nullah* in the south of Calcutta and after whom the neighbouring locality Tollygunge is also named.

SEALS

63. Lahore seals and roll of their impressions. These belonged to Raja Ranjit Singh, his sons and officers and are 19 in number.

64. Wax impression of a seal of Lord Amherst, Governor General 1823-8. It is a large mould in Persian character and its contents, which is conceived in the ideal oriental style, would read as follows in English: "Chief of Chiefs of exalted rank, personal adviser to His Majesty the King of England, full of bounties, whose court is as high as Saturn, the most noble of nobles, Lord Amherst the Valiant Governor General and the high administrator of the protected dominions of the English Company belonging to the Empire of India. Year 1823 of the Christian era."

REPAIR OF BOOKS AND RECORDS

Specimens of dilapidated books and manuscripts which had been restored to a satisfactory condition by special methods of repair adopted in the Imperial Record Department were also exhibited.

From the Government of Bengal

MANUSCRIPT RECORDS

65. Proceedings 9 Jan.—31 Dec. 1766, containing the autographs of Lord Clive, Brigadier-General John Carnac, Harry Verelst and Francis Sykes, members of the Select Committee. (Vol. 2)

66. Letter dated 5 Feb. 1773 from the Board of Revenue consisting of the whole Council at Fort William to the Committee of Circuit, on the settlement of Dinajpur and Silberis. Signed by Warren Hastings, General Robert Barker and Thomas Lane. (O. C. 15 Feb. 1773, no 1)

From the Government of Bengal—*contd.*

MANUSCRIPT RECORDS—*contd.*

67. Letter from the Board of Revenue consisting of the whole Council to the Calcutta Committee of Revenue, regarding the constitution of the Provincial Council of Revenue. Signed by Warren Hastings, W. Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, James Lawrell and others. (Cal. Com. O. C. 6 Dec. 1773, no 1)

68. Petition from Loknath Nandi (son of Kanto Babu, Banian to Governor General Warren Hastings and founder of the Kasimbazar Raj family), Gokul Chandra Ghosal (founder of the Bhukailash Raj family), Darpo Narayan Thakur (Tagore) and Kasinath Babu, salt contractors of Hijli. (O. C. 11 Jun. 1773, no 17)

69. Letter dated 15 November 1773 from the Chief and Council of the French settlement at Chandernagore to the Board of Revenue consisting of the whole Council, complaining against certain proceedings of Mr. Barwell, with an English translation. Bears the autographs of the French gentlemen. (O. C. 25 Nov. 1773, no 6)

70. Joint Minute of Warren Hastings, Governor General, and Mr. Richard Barwell, a member of the Council, on the conduct of Mr. W. M. Thackeray, Collector of Sylhet. (O. C. 12 Sep. 1775, no 1)

71. Letter dated 16 Oct. 1775 from the Revenue Department to the Calcutta Committee of Revenue, regarding the French Factories or Residencies within their jurisdiction. Bears the autographs of Warren Hastings, Philip Francis, R. Barwell, J. Clavering and Col. G. Monson. (Cal. Com. O. C. 20 Oct. 1775, no 1)

72. Draft of a *sanad*, dated 21 May 1776, granting the zamindari of Burdwan to Maharaja Tez Chand Bahadur. (O. C. 21 May 1776, no 12)

73. Petition of appeal of Kissen Kanta Nandi (commonly known as Kanto Babu) relating to his mercantile affairs in Calcutta. (Rev. O. C. 30 Nov. 1779, no 10)

74. Translation of a letter from Nawab Mubarak-ud-daulah conferring the title of Maharajadhiraj on Raja Shib Chandra Bahadur of Nadia. (Rev. O. C. 27 Oct. 1780, no. 26)

75. Letter dated 27 Oct. 1780 to the Provincial Council for the division of Calcutta, sanctioning the conferment of the title of Maharajadhiraj on Raja Shib Chandra of Nadia. (Rev. O. C. 27 Oct. 1780, no 28)

76-9. Minute of the Governor General (Lord Cornwallis) dated 18 Sep. 1789, on the Permanent Settlement of Bengal and Bihar. Holograph. (Rev. O. C. 18 Sep. 1789, no 3) Minute by Sir John Shore, dated 18 Sep.

From the Government of Bengal—*contd.*

MANUSCRIPT RECORDS—*contd.*

and 8 Dec. 1789 on the same subject. (Rev. O. Cs 18 Sep. 1789, no 4 and 21 Dec. 1789, no. 1) Last minute of the Governor General (Lord Cornwallis) on the same subject. (Rev. O. C. 10 Feb. 1799, no 52)

80. Original *Qistbandi* dated 1173 B.S. (A.D. 1767) executed by Maharani Bhawani of Natore for her Zamindari.

81. Original *Qistbandi* dated 1173 B.S. (A.D. 1767) executed by Raja Jagat Bund Deo for Pergana Pachet, etc.

82. Original *Qistbandi* dated 1188 B.S. (A.D. 1781) executed by Salah-uddin Muhammad Khan for Pergana Saidpur etc., now known as Haji Mohsin's Endowment property.

83. Original *Qistbandi* dated 1192 B.S. (A.D. 1785) executed by Maharajadhiraj Tez Chand Bahadur for Pergana Burdwan etc.

84-85. Original *Qabuliats* dated 1192 B.S. (A.D. 1785) executed by Raja Raj Sing for Pergana Susang (Mymensing). Bears the seal of the executor who was an ancestor of the Maharaja of Susang.

86-90. Original *Qabuliats* dated 1192 B.S. (A.D. 1785) executed by the *Zamindars* of Muktagacha (ancestors of the Maharaja of Mymensing) for Perganas Mymensing and Alapsing.

91. Original *Qabuliat* granted by order of the Governor General in Council, dated 1191 B.S. (A.D. 1784) to Hari Narain for Perganas Cherulia and Madhuria. Bears the East India Company's seal as *Diwan* of *Suba*, Bengal.

92. Original *Sanad* granted to Mir Husain Shah and others by Safdar Jang, dated 1154 *Hijri* (A.D. 1740). Bears the latter's seal.

93-94. Original *Qistbandi* dated 1192 B.S. (A.D. 1785) executed by Maharaja Radhanath Bahadur of Dinajpur for Haveli Pinjira.

From the Calcutta High Court, Appellate Side

RECORDS OF SADAR DIWANI AND SADAR NIZAMAT ADALATS

95-97. Papers relating to the trials of (1) the confederates of Nawab Wazir Ali of Benares for rebellion, 1800 A.D. ; (2) Mirza Jan "Tapish," the famous Urdu poet, for conspiracy against the East India Company, 1800 ; and (3) Nawab Shamsud-dawlah Bahadur, for high treason, 1799.

98. Reports of Court of Circuit, giving a survey of various activities of the Government in the administration of the country, 1799.

99. Register containing the oaths taken by some of the Chief Justices of the High Court and Commissions issued by the Governors General in connection thereof with their autographs, 1870.

From the Calcutta High Court, Appellate Side—*contd.*

Records of Sadar Diwani and Sadar Nizamat Adalats—*contd.*

100. Map showing the extent of the Nawab Wazir's dominions, 1808.

101-2. Papers showing the requisite qualifications for (1) the *Vakils* practising in Lower Courts, 1799, and (2) Native Commissioners (present-day Munsiffs), 1799.

103. Specimen of *fatwas* (English translation) pronounced by the *Moulvis* determining the punishments to be awarded in criminal cases, 1792.

104-5. Judgments in Persian passed by the *Sadar Diwani Adalat*, 1796-97 and 1823 (Two volumes).

106-7. Specimens of decrees in Persian passed by the *Sadar Diwani Adalat* : (1) 1836, 11 ft. long ; (2) 1847, 60 ft.

Records of Mayor's and Supreme Courts

108-9. (1) Copies of letters from the Mayor's Court to Lord Clive and his Council, 1764-69, (2) Mayor's Court's accounts with the East India Company, 1757-68.

110-11. Proceedings of the (1) Court of Quarter Sessions, 1755, and (2) First Supreme Court, 1774.

112-14. Last Wills and Testaments of (1) Lieutenant-General Sir John Clavering, 1777, (2) Colonel George Monson, 1779, and (3) Henry Vansittart, 1786.

115. Specimen of bail-bonds executed before the Justices of the Peace, 1768.

116. A letter from Mrs. Thackeray, mother of the famous novelist, to the Sheriff, 1814.

117. *Farman* in Turkish granted by the Sultan of Turkey (Abdul Majid I) to Lieutenant-Colonel William Augustus Eyers, Rifle Brigade, in recognition of the latter's services during the Crimean War, 1859.

118. Specimen of the Judgments passed by the Supreme Court, 1787.

119. Proceedings of the Mayor's Court, 1755.

From the Sheriff of Calcutta

Manuscript Records

120. Original Calendar of the 1st Criminal Sessions of the Supreme Court, Calcutta, in 1792, signed by Sir Robert Chambers, C.J., Mr. Justice Hyde, Sir William Jones, and Sir William Dunkin.

121. One of the 1st Death Warrants issued in Calcutta.

122. Warrant signed by the Marquis of Dalhousie for the intermediate custody of a soldier (Private William Cribbs).

123. Warrant to transport a soldier to England by Sir Barnes Peacock, C.J., Lord Elgin, Governor General, the Commander-in-Chief, the Adjutant-General, the Secretary to Government and the Lieut.-Governor of Bengal.

From the Corporation of Calcutta

MANUSCRIPT DOCUMENTS BEARING ROYAL AUTOGRAPHS

124. Reply of Her Majesty the Queen Empress to the address presented by the Corporation of Calcutta, Jubilee 1887.

125. Speech of H. R. H. Prince Alfred Ernest Albert, K.G., K.T., Duke of Edinburgh, in reply to the Corporation address of welcome on the occasion of his visit to Calcutta on the 21st December, 1869.

126. Speech of H. R. H. Prince Albert Victor Edward of Wales, K.G., K.P., in reply to the Corporation address of welcome on the occasion of his visit to Calcutta on the 3rd January, 1890.

127. Speech of Prince George of Wales on the occasion of his visit to Calcutta on the 29th December, 1905.

128. Speech of H. R. H. Prince of Wales, K.G., M.C., to the Corporation address of welcome, 24th December 1921.

PORTRAITS OF OLD CALCUTTA

129-33. (1) A view of Chandpal Ghat,(2) View of the Chitpore Road, Calcutta (August 1799), (3) The Factory, Calcutta, by T. Daniell, 1786, (4) Old Court House, January 1805, (5) Old Calcutta.

From the Imperial Library (Calcutta)

PERSIAN MANUSCRIPTS (HISTORIES) BELONGING TO THE BUHAR LIBRARY.[1]

134. *Mirat-i-Jahan Numa.*—(History of the world). Compiled under Aurangzeb, A.D. 1682.

135. *Tarikh-i-Masudi.* History of the Sultan Masud, A.D. 1030-1040.

136. *Tarikh-i-Jahankushai.*—History of Nadir Shah, from his rise to his death, A.D. 1747, by Mirza Md Mahdi Khan Astarabadi.

137. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari.*—History of India from the time of Sabaktagin, A.D. 977 to the reign of Akbar, A.D. 1594.

138. *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi.*—History of Delhi Kings from the accession of Ghiyas-ud-Din Balban to Firuz Shah's reign, A.D. 1266—A.D. 1357.

139. *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afaghanah.*—History of Lodi & Sur dynasties composed at the request of Daud Shah, A.D. 1572-76.

140. *Akbar Namah.*—History of Akbar's ancestors to the death of Humayun. No date, probably 17th Century.

141. *Ain-i-Akbari.*—Contains a detailed statistical account of India and the institutes of Akbar by Abul Fazl. (19th Century)

[1] Further particulars will be found in the Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Imperial Library.

From the Imperial Library (Calcutta)—*contd.*

PERSIAN MANUSCRIPTS (HISTORIES) BELONGING TO THE BUHAR LIBRARY—*contd.*

142. *Iqbal Nama-i-Jahangir.*—Contains a full history of Akbar from his accession to his death; very scarce. A.D. 1620.

143. *Jahangir Namah.*—Amplified reduction of the spurious memoirs of Jahangir. Not dated, apparently 19th Century.

144. *Padishah Namah.*—History of the early life of Shah Jahan and of the first ten years of his reign, 1591-1637 A.D., by Md Amin Bin Abul Husain Qazwini.

145. *Ahwal-i-Shahzadigi-i-Shah Jahan Wa Padishah Namah Daftar-i-Awwal.*—History of Shah Jahan in 2 vols. Vol. 1 gives the history of Shah Jahan from the birth to his accession to the throne (1591-1627 A.D.). Vol. 2 contains an account of the first 10 years of his reign (1627-1638 A.D.). Dated Benares, 6th August 1820.

146. *Tarikh-i-Shahanshahi.*—A very beautiful copy of the history of the events that followed the death of Aurangzeb, down to the beginning of the reign of Farrukh Siyar, A.D. 1707-19. Not dated, apparently 18th Century.

147. *Waqiat-i-Kashmir.*—History of Kashmir from the oldest time down to A.D. 1747 by Muhammad Azam. Written in A.D. 1747. Not dated, apparently 19th Century.

148. *Riaz-us-Salatin.*—A special history of Bengal from the earliest times down to the conquest of the country by the British, written by Ghulam Husain in 1788 A.D. (Transcribed by Iradat 'Ali of Buhar in 1874.)

149. *Tarikh-i-Alamgiri.*—A history of the first five years of Aurangzeb's reign containing a detailed account of the period during which he was occupied in crushing his competitors and securing the throne, by an unknown author, who flourished during the time of Aurangzeb. Not dated, apparently 19th Century.

OTHER MANUSCRIPTS

150. *Sad-dar-Najum.*—(A Gujrati translation of the Persian version of the Zend-pazend, dated Sam. 1814.)

151. *Papers of Raja Gour (sic) Das, 1768-1806.*—(The volume contains papers of Raja Guru Das, the son of Nandkumar, including the decrees of courts obtained by the Raja against his debtors. There are also two Persian manuscript letters at the end of the volume, one of them containing the offer of the Diwani of the Nizamat of Bengal.)

152. *Copia de algumas observacoens feitas sobre o Commercio da China edetoda a India, em 1781 pricipiado.*—(In Portuguese: contains a description of India's trade with China in and about the year 1781.)

From the Imperial Library (Calcutta)—*contd.*

OTHER MANUSCRIPTS—*contd.*

153. *A brief account of the East India Company, compiled by Abraham Caldecott, some time Accountant General of Bengal.*—(Contains an autograph of the compiler, and is dated 1782.)

154. *Index to the papers in the India Office relative to the articles of charges against Warren Hastings.*—(Portions, written in red ink have so faded that they can not now be read.)

155-60. *Copies and two original letters from Sir John Malcolm, 1803-1806.*—The persons addressed are: (1) Marquis Wellesley, (2) Josiah Webbe, (3) Shawe, (4) Neil Benjamin Edmundstone, (5) Sir George Hilaro Barlow. (6) Sir Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington. There is also a letter from Barlow to Malcolm.

161. *The Adhrarmaramarana (sic). A history of the seventh incarnation of Vishnu. Translated from the Sanskrit into Persian by Anandghan, and again translated from the Persian into English probably by Francis Gladwin, Vol. I, 1801.*—(Contains coloured illustrations by Indian artists. The work was never printed, and perhaps was never completed.)

162. *The Oudh Question. Charge against the Marquis of Wellesley, 1805.*—(Comprises an account of the proceedings in Parliament in connection with the charges brought against Lord Wellesley by Paull and others with regards to his policy in Oudh.)

163. *Petition of Muhammad Wajid Ali Shah, King of Oudh, to the Court of Directors of the East India Company and to the Governor General of India, protesting against the policy pursued by the Government of India in connexion with the annexation of Oudh.*—(Dated 9 December 1856.)

164. *Opinion of Dr. Travers Twiss on the case of Muhammad Wajid Ali Shah, King of Oudh, dated 24 February 1875.*

165. *Listes alphabetiques speciales des titres des textes composant les divers recueils du Suttapitaka pali (non compris le Jataka, section X du Suttapitaka, qui est a part).*—Par L. Feer. Paris, 1880.

166. *Autograph letters* of Major H. G. Raverty.

167. *Autograph letter* of Lord Curzon.

PICTURE

168. View of Calcutta—By J. B. Frasers.

From the Archæological Section of the Indian Museum (Calcutta)

MANUSCRIPTS

169. Farman of Emperor Alamgir II, dated the 1st year of his reign ; refers to the grant of *3,590 dams* from the Pargana of Jhorsa in the Province of Darul Khilafat Shahjahanabad to one Lal Muhammed Khan.

170. Petition of Mir Jumla to Aurangzeb informing him of the death of Azam Khan etc., dated 1079 H.

171-73. Persian and Bengali deeds of sale presented by Babu Kamakhya Prasad Bose, B.L., of Dhamrai, Dist. Dacca. (1) Deed of sale conveying slaves, dated 29th Sravan Sana, 1074. (2) Deed of sale conveying land, dated 1st Paush Sana, 1073. (3) Kabuliyat in Bengali character, dated 1st Jyaistha Sana, 1114.

174. An illuminated manuscript of the *Quran* with Persian translation.

PICTURES

175-213. Presented to the Archæological Section, Indian Museum, by Justice Beaufort of South Africa through the Director General of Archæology : (1) View from the terrace over the lower gateway at Sherghur. (2) Hindu Temple Brindaban. (3) Rasmundul at Vishenpore, built by Raja Gopa Sing. (4) Garden entrance to Juggut Sett's house at Rajmahal. (5) At Rajmahal. (6) The Naubatkhana, Rajmahal. (7) Rajmahal. (8) A gate of Rajmahal. (9) Rajmahal. (10) Rajmahal. (11) Remains of a bridge at Pandua built with the fragments of Hindu Temples, 1792. (12) Minar at Gaur. (13) North gateway of the inner fort of Gaur, 1792. (14) Near Rajmahal. (15) At Rajmahal. (16) Oudanulla bridge. (17) A mosque at Jaunpore, 1792. (18) Mausoleum on the bank of Gumti near Joanpur, 1798. (19) Near Joanpur. (20) Bridge at Joanpur (Cawnpore ?). (21) Remains of a mosque at Joanpur, 1799 (Cawnpore ?). (22) Portion of bridge at Rajmahal. (23) At Joanpur. (24) Remains of a mosque at Joanpur, October 1799. (25) Joanpur (Cawnpore ?). (26) Joanpur. (27) Gate of the old fort at Benares as it stood in 1797. (28) Nandesur House, Benares, defended by Mr. Samuel Davis, R.E., F.R.S. (29) North view of Chunarghur. (30) The fort of Agouree on the banks of the river Soan, a day's journey from Bidregur. (31) Tomb of Sultan Khusro near Allahabad, No. 1798. (32) Tomb of (*l*) in Sultan Khusro's garden, Allahabad. (33) The South angle of the fort of Chunar, U.P., 1797. (34) Part of Chunarghur, 1796. (35) The Qadam Rasul at Gaur—that is the impression of Muhammad's feet contained in the building of which this is the picture. (36) A gateway at the end of the old bridge of Pollurer near Joanpur, 1797. (37) West view of the commanding officer's house in the Fort of Monghyr taken by Mr. Daniel in 1798. (38) The East gate of the fort of Monghyr. (39) Temple on the Jumna taken by General Leslie, the sketch by Captain Kyd.

From the Calcutta Madrasah Library

MANUSCRIPTS

214. *Khamsa* of Nizami, noted for its excellent calligraphy and illumination.

2'5. An unique copy of the *Arabic History of Gujrat* by Abdullah-ul-Makki. An edition of this work by Sir E. Denison Ross has been published in the Indian Text Series. 2 vols.

From the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta)

PERSIAN MANUSCRIPTS

216. *Badshahnama.*—A history of Shah Jahan, by Abdul Hamid, Lahori, pupil of Allami Abu'l Fazl, Minister of Akbar the Great. Written in elegant *Nasta'liq.* Autograph of Emperor Shah Jahan on the margin of fol. 1.

217. *Shah Nama.*—By Abul Qasim Firdawsi of Tūs (dated A.H. 411—A.D. 1020). Transcribed in small and beautiful *Nasta'liq* characters and illustrated with several curious miniature paintings, finished in the Tartar style. Has two elegant ornamented frontispieces.

218. *At-Tahzib.*—A very old copy, dated A. H. 674—A. D. 1275 comprising the commentary on a portion of the *Quran,* by Abu Sād Muhsin-bin-Karama-al-Jushami-al-Baihaqi, who flourished in the fifth century of the Mahomedan era.

219. *Quran Sharif*—Splendid copy, once in the possession of Abdur Rahim Khan-Khanan, Akbar's first prime minister, with a note by the Khan-Khanan explaining the way of taking omen from the *Quran,* and an autograph due to Mahammad Salih, the well-known historian of Shah Jahan's time.

220. *Quran Sharif.*—Written in the developed form of the *Kufie* character. Presented by Nawab Khizir Khan Bahadur to Tipu Sultan.

221. *Quran Sharif.*—Comprising sixty pages, every two of which contain a section (para.). The sections are of unequal length, but the scribe has so ingeniously engrossed the work that the pages appear perfectly uniform.

From the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta

PAINTINGS

222-24. Specimens of wall paper from Vishnupur, Bankura. The Rajas of Vishnupus used to decorate the inner walls of their temples with water colour paintings like these. Date 1590-1616. The scenes depicted in these exhibits are briefly as follows : (1) Krishna sitting on an-elephant composed of nine female attendants, sakhis of Radha, metaphorically called *Navanari Kunjara.* (2) A scene of Brindaban. Srikrishna, Radha and a Gopi (female attendant) strolling in a picturesque wood on the bank of the

From the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta- *contd.*

PAINTINGS—*contd.*

Jumna. (3) This paper depicts three scenes: (*a*) In the middle Raja Ram Chandra is seated in State with his three brothers, saint Narada, and the monkey-chief, Hanuman, attending on him. Here Hanuman is seen dressed with dhotis and chadar. (*b*) On the upper portion are seen *devas* or gods showering flowers and *chandan* (sandal) from heaven on the head of Rama in the scene (*a*). (*c*) The lower portion shows a female milking a cow (Suravi) and four males waiting to take milk.

225-8. Wooden covers of manuscripts—about 250 years old.

Specimen (1)

(*a*) Obverse in two rows—1st row—Sri Krishna leading cows to the pasture with his companions. 2nd row—The above scene. With (Vrajanaris) females watching the same.

(*b*) Reverse—in two rows—1st row—Sri Chaitanya and Nityananda singing in the streets of Navadwip with their attendants. 2nd row—The devout Haridas singing and dancing in the streets of Navadwip with other *Bhaktas* (devotees) while the females of the place are watching the scene.

Specimen (2)

(*a*) Obverse—Srikrishna stealing the clothes of the *gopinis* (or milkmaids) while they were bathing in the Jumna.

(*b*) Reverse—Ornamental designs.

Specimen (3)

(*a*) Obverse—Ram Chandra seated in State with his brother Lakshana and his wife Sita, a number of *Rakshas* (demons) attending.

(*b*) Reverse—Ornamental designs.

Specimen (4)

(*a*) Obverse—Nityananda and Chaitanya singing and dancing with other *Bhaktas* (devotees).

(*b*) Reverse—Trees and flowers.

229-32. Tibetan Banners—Budhistic (about 150 years old). The designs are (1) One thousand figures of Buddha in *Dhyanimudra* arranged in regular order

From the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta—*contd*

PAINTINGS—*contd.*

with the central figure slightly exceeding the rest in size. (2) Buddha in *Dhyanimudra* in the centre with four other figures of Buddha—Tara and Yaksha, in the four corners. (3) Different *Tantric* figures within and outside a big circle. (4) Nine *Tantric* figures in three rows.

233-47. Different scenes from daily life collected by the Raja Rajendralal Mitra about 100 years ago. (1) Spinning, (2) Grinding corn, (3) Winnowing, (4 and 5) Kitchens, (6) Baking, (7) Sweeping, (8) Comfit seller, (9) A bridal party, (10) A village well, (11) Bath, (12) Ablution, (13) Toilette, (14, 15) Carpenter—drilling, Carpenter planing.

DEEDS AND DOCUMENTS

248. Gift of land belonging to the *Debottor* Estate devoted for the worship of Gobinda Deva of Pratapaditya B.S. 1121 (A.D. 1714).

249. Another deed belonging to the estate mentioned above, B.S. 1123 (A.D. 1716).

250. Sale of a man, illustrating slave trade in Bengal B.S. 1195 (A.D. 1788).

AUTOGRAPHS

251. Raja Krishna Chandra Ray of Nadia and his court-poet Bharat Chandra Ray Gunakar. An appeal from Bharat Chandra with orders thereon by Raja Krishna Chandra Ray, 1740 A.D.

252. Rani Bhawani Devi of Nattore. A deed of gift of 101 bighas of land signed by Rani Bhawani, A.D. 1796.

253. Maharajadhiraj Ramkrishna Ray, of Nattore. A deed of gift of 100 bighas of land signed by Maharajadhiraj Prithivipati Ram Krishna Ray Bahadur, A.D. 1789.

254. Raja Rammohan Ray, the great religious Reformer and founder of the Brahmo Samaj A.D. 1774 to 1833.

255. Peary Chand Mitra (pseudonym Teck Chand Thakur), the first Bengali novelist A.D. 1815 to 1883.

256. Dinabandhu Mitra (the first Bengali dramatist of eminence) A.D. 1829 to 1873.

257. Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyaya (the foremost Bengali novelist of Bengal) A.D. 1838 to 1894.

BENGALI MANUSCRIPTS

258. *Sri Krishna Kirtan* by Chandidasa 14th Century A.D.

259-61. *Mahabharata* by Kasiramdasa—(1) Adi Parva B.S. 985 (A.D. 1578). (2) Karna Parva B.S. 1000 (A.D. 1593). (3) Drona Parva B.S. 1000 (A.D. 1593).

262. *Ramayana* (*Uttara Kanda*) by Kirttivasa Ojha B.S. 1018 (A.D. 1611).

From the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta—*contd.*

BENGALI MANUSCRIPTS—*contd.*

263-64. (1) *Manasa-Mangal* (Efficacy of the worship of Manasa, the Serpent goddess, by Kaviballava Rishikananda B.S. 1035 (A.D. 1628). (2) Ditto written in Devanagri character by Ksemananda, B.S. 1224 (A.D. 1817).

265. *Sri Krishna-Vijaya.* Sense translation of the Bhagavatam by Maladhar Vasu Gunaraj Khan B.S. 1059 (A.D. 1652).

266. *Dakcharitra.* Wise sayings in old Bengali regarding astrology, nursing of children, cookery, agriculture, dwelling, medicine, etc. The manuscript contains the name of Dak or the Indian Solomon who is reputed to be author of these sayings. B.S. 1090 (A.D. 1683).

267. *Chaura-Chakravarti.* A work illustrating the art of stealing and plundering in the form of stories by Kashiswara. B.S. 1172 (A.D. 1765).

SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS

268. *Mahabharata* (*Adi Parva*). Saka 1422 (A.D. 1500).

269. *Srimad-Bhagavatam.* Saka 1474 (A.D. 1552).

270. *Kavvya Prakasa*—literature rhetoric by Manmatha Bhatta. Saka 1474 (A.D. 1552).

271. *Mugdha-Bodha-Vyakarana* (Grammar) by Bopadeva Goswami. Saka 1525 (A.D. 1603).

272. *Mahabharatam* (*Santi Parva*). Saka 1525 (A.D. 1603).

273. *Karma-Vipaka* (Atonement for diseases incurable by medical treatment. Author unknown. Saka 1610 (A.D. 1688).

274. *Sarva-Sara* (Hindu Medicine or *Ayurveda*) by Vaidya Yashas Chandra. Saka 1610 (A.D. 1688).

275. *Hasyarnava Nataka* (Comic Drama) by Jagadishwara. Saka 1627 (A.D.1705).

276. *Tantra-Sara*—A treatise on *Tantra* profusely illustrated with beautiful *Tantric Yantras* (figures and symbols) by Krishnananda Sarvabhouma. Saka 1733 (A.D. 1811).

277. *Gita Govindam* (complete) of Jayadeva written on a sheet of paper of foolscap size by Paramananda Sharma.

PERSIAN MANUSCRIPT

278-79. *Shah-Namah* of Firdausi. (Illuminated and Illustrated). About 250 years old. 2 copies.

RARE AND OLD PRINTED BOOKS

280. **Grammar of the Bengali language (The First Bengali Grammar) by Halhed. A.D. 1778.**

From the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta—*contd.*

RARE AND OLD PRINTED BOOKS—*contd.*

281. A Dictionary—Bengali to English (The First Bengali Dictionary) by Forster. A.D. 1799.

282. *Lipi-mala* (The First Bengali letter-writer) by Ram Ram Basu. A.D. 1802.

283. *Mahabharata* (The First Bengali edition) printed at Serampur. A.D. 1802.

284. *Itihas-mala* (The First Bengali story-book) printed at Serampur. A.D. 1812.

285. *Tota-itihasa* (Bengali Stories) printed in London. A.D. 1822.

286. *Samachar-Darpan* (The First Bengali weekly) edited by Marshman. A.D. 1818.

287. *Dig-Darsan* (The First Bengali Monthly) edited by Marshman. A.D. 1818.

288. *Jyotish Goladhyaya* (The First Bengali Astronomical Work) printed at Serampur. A.D. 1819.

289. *Varnamala-Vyakarana Itihasa* (The First primer on Miscellaneous subject by Raja Radhakanta Dev Bahadur. A.D. 1820.

290. *Srimad-Bhagavatam* (The First *Bhagabat* in Bengali) by Bhawani Charan Banerjee. A.D. 1824.

291. *Mitakshara-Darpan* (The First printed Law book in Bengali) by Lukshmi Narayan Nyayalankar. A.D. 1824.

292. *Nabya-Sabhya-Vidhyyaka* (The First Litho-Printed work in Bengali).

From the Moslem Institute

(*Out of the collection of Nawab* Khayal)

MANUSCRIPT

293-94. (1) Persian translation of the Mahabharata by Abul Fazl. (2) Ramayan of Tulsi Das in Persian characters.

PAINTINGS

295-96. (1) Suleman Shikoh, son of Dara Shikoh. (2) Qutb-ul-Mulk Nawab Saiyid Abdullah Khan, the "King Maker."

From the Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad (Palace Library)

PERSIAN MANUSCRIPTS

297-99. (1) *Timur Nama.* Illustrated Ms. (2) *Jahangir Nama.* Illustrated Ms. (3) *Siyar-ul-Mutaakhkherin* in the author's handwriting.

PORTRAITS

300. Ghori Kings (A rare album prepared under the orders of the Emperor Shah Jahan).

From Nawab Jahangir Mirza (Murshidabad).

PERSIAN MANUSCRIPTS

01-2. *Nal Daman. Yusuf Zulaikha.* Beautifully illustrated.

From Sahibzada Halimuzzuman of the Mysore Family

303-4. (i) (ii) Two Portraits of Tipu Sultan.

From Sahibzada Ghulam Husain of the Mysore Family

305. Timur's sword with the following epigram inscribed in Persian :—

"In the name of God the compassionate and merciful. 'The hand of God is above their hands.' The irresistible sword, the enemy-killer, the victorious, the sword of the King of the Kings, the monarch of monarchs the Sultan Sahib Qiran His Majesty Amir Timur. May God perpetuate his kingdom and Empire !"

From the Maharaja Bahadur of Nadia

FARMANS

306. From the Emperor Jahangir conferring the Office of Chaudhri and Qanungo on Bhattanand Chaudhri for the parganas of Bagwan, Jahabgirpur, Ukhra, Nadia, etc. Dated 20th April 1613 A.D.

307. Bearing the seal of Shah Muhammad Shuja, son of Emperor Shah Jahan, granted to Bishanath, son of Raghu Chaudhri, in respect of the taluqs of Islampur, Matyari in the parganas of Sultanpur. Dated 4 Jamada 11. 1066 A.H. or 30th March 1656 A.D.

308. Bearing the seal of Muhammad Azam, son of Emperor Alamgir, granted to Raja Rudra Chaudhri, conferring on him the title of Chaudhri and Zamindar in respect of the parganas of Satgaon, Sulaimanabad, etc. Dated 27 Zul Qadu or 18 April 1670 A.D.

309. Under the seal of Emperor Shah Alam granted to Kishan Chand of Nadia conferring on him the title of Maharaja Indrao Bahadur. Dated 25 Rabi I. 7 Julus or 6th September 1766 A.D.

ARMS

310. Sword used by Lord Clive and presented by him to Krishna Chandra with the title of "Maharajendra Bahadur."

311. Favourite sword of Maharaja Raghuram Ray, father of Maharajendra Krishna Chandra Ray Bahadur. He was a great sportsman and killed many wild buffaloes on foot with this sword.

312. Jewelled "Katar" (dagger) presented by the Emperor Jahangir to Maharaja Bhabanand Majumdar.

From Raja Bhupendra Narayan Sinha Bahadur, of Nashipur

313. MANUSCRIPT : *Sanskrit Mahabharat*, very old.

From Kumar N. N. Mullick (Marble Palace, Calcutta)

PICTURES

314. Warren Hastings—by an English Artist.
315. The 31st Regiment with Major General Sir H. Smith's Division advancing to the charge at the Battle of Moodkee, 18th December 1845.
316. Charge of the 3rd (King's Own) Light Dragoons at the Battle of Ferozeshah, 21 December 1845.
317. Night Bivouac of the British Army at the Battle of Ferozeshah, 21 December 1845.
318. The Battle of Ferozeshah (2 days), 22 December 1845.
319. Charge of the 16th (Queen's Own) Lancers at the Battle of Aliwal, 28 January 1846.
320. The 31st Regiment with Major General Sir H. Smith's Division engaged in the Battle of Sobraon, 10 February 1846.

From the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J. (Darjeeling)

I. SOME PRE-PORTUGUESE CHRISTIAN RELICS IN INDIA, CEYLON, BURMA AND CHINA.—PHOTOGRAPHS AND RUBBINGS

A.—From St. Thomas Mount, Mylapore

321-22. Cross with Sassanian-Pahlavi inscription of about A.D. 650.

B.—From Bishop's House, San Thome, Mylapore

323. (*a*) Stone with two half-relief statues back to back, representing St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew(?). Found in 1729 near St. Thomas' tomb.
(*b*) Four triangular stones with rope-bordered medallion tops containing 3 crosses fleuries and 1 Maltese cross.
324. Detail of No. 3(*a*)—St. Thomas.
325. Detail of No. 3(*a*)—St. Bartholomew(?). Popularly, Kandapa Raja (Godophares), King of Mylapore.
326. Detail of No. 3(*b*)—Three crosses fleuries and one Maltese cross within rope-bordered medallions.
327. Headless Jain statue and cannon-ball.
328. Two massive pillars with single-leaf design at the four corners of top and bottom.

From the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J. (Darjeeling)—*contd.*

I. SOME PRE-PORTUGUESE CHRISTIAN RELICS IN INDIA, CEYLON, BURMA AND CHINA.—PHOTOGRAPHS AND RUBBINGS—*contd.*

C.—From San Thome Cathedral, Mylapore

329. Fragment of inscription of Vikrama Chola in Church pavement (about 1118 A.D.).

D.—From San Thomé Cathedral Compound, Mylapore

330-31. Two medallions on the same stone showing a Persian King (King Mazdai?) and a Persian Prince (Prince Uzanes, his son?) with Ionic capitals.

332. Fluted pilaster with winged angel-head at the top and centre.

333. Rope-bordered vessel, hollow at bottom. A baptismal font (?).

334. Massive Stone-chest (tabernacle? altar?) with Ionic capitals.

335. Fragments of carved stones. Ionic designs.

336. Sixteen petalled stone umbrellas(?).

E.—From Little Mount, Mylapore

337. Three crosses (two pre-Portuguese, one with Armenian inscription of A.D. 1665).

338. St. Thomas with carpenter's rule (Portuguese work of A.D. 1612).

F.—From N. S. da Luz Church Compound, Mylapore

339. Two monstrous tigers, wingless.

G.—From Madre de Deos Church Compound, Mylapore

340-44. (1) Old Jesuit entrance gate of 1746 or 1748. (2) Fragments of two ancient pillars. (3) Cross worshipped by two peacocks. (4) Cross photograph of a rubbing. (5) Two ancient pillars.

H.—From Anuradhapura, Ceylon

345-48. (1) Cross on pillar found about 1913, at a depth of 20 ft. (2) Cross drawing with measurements. (3) Rubbing of drawing with measurements. (4) Double or patriarchal cross on door jomb from excavation at Tyres (Syria).

I.—From Kotlavam, Malabar

349. Two crosses of the same style as in Nos. 248-9 and 272. Sassanian-Pahlavi inscription similar to that in Nos. 248-9.

From the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J. (Darjeeling)—*contd.*

I. SOME PRE-PORTUGUESE CHRISTIAN RELICS IN INDIA, CEYLON, BURMA AND CHINA.—PHOTOGRAPHS AND RUBBINGS—*concld.*

J.—From Pagan, Burma

350. Eight crosses in fresco painting from the Kyanzittha cave. Found by Mr. Duroiselle together with paintings of Mongol soldiers supposed to have belonged to Kublai Khan's expedition against Pagan in A.D. 1287.

K.—From Si-ngan-fu, China

351. Photograph of the Christian stele of A.D. 781.

352. Rubbing of the inscription on No. 30.

L.—From the Country of the Jats, India

353. Two crosses (Manvihean?) in a Ms. *Kshetra-samasa* obtained from a Jat at Benares by Col. F. Wilford before 1808.

354. Some types of Christian crosses in Europe.

II. PORTUGUESE TOMBSTONES

355. Thirty-four photographs of rubbings of Portuguese tomb-stones from San Thome, Mylapore.

From Mr. A. Stephen (Calcutta)

PICTURES

356-61. (1) Akbar with Maryam Zamani Begam.* (2) Durbar of Nadir Shah and Muhammad Shah. (3) Durbar of Ahmad Shah. (4) Pictures of the Nawabs and Begams of Oudh. (5) Dancing before Akbar II. (6) Hindu Mythological pictures on canvas.

SILVERWARE

362. *Silver plate with the signs of the Zodiac said to have been presented to Emperor Jahangir by some eminent astrologer. It is stated that when the Emperor became insane, the astrologers designed this plate with a view to effect his cure by being kept constantly before him.

363. *Silver Plate showing the picture of a royal procession during the reign of Prithwiraj, King of Delhi and Ajmere, said to have been presented to the above Raja as a *nazar* by one of his subjects. As the legend goes, it passed into the hands of Muhammad Ghori when he defeated Prithwiraj; later on the Mughal Emperor Muhammad Shah gave it away as a reward to Nawab Sadat Ali Khan, the first *Subadar of* Oudh; which Wajid Ali Shah, the last Nawab of Oudh, made a present of it to one of his beloved Begams at the time of his death.

* The authenticity of these exhibits is doubtful.

From Mr. A. Stephen (Calcutta)—*contd.*

SILVERWARE—*contd.*

364. Tibetan Temple. The particulars are as follows :—

(*a*) Decorated with flower (Chinese Name)—KOL SILLIUM.
(*b*) Border of inner circle decorated in—Greek Name—KEY.
(*c*) Sixteen figures in the outer circle :—

Tibetan Name—NARTIN CHITTOO.
Chinese Name—CHIR SHOO SHIM.

(*d*) Central Figure :—

Tibetan Name—JACHIN.

(*e*) Eight figures in the inner circle :—

Tibetan Name—TASI TARGAY.
Chinese Name—PAPO.

Central figure :—

Tibetan & Chinese Name—LAMA.

This silver *Gremba* which is used for worship in the Buddhist Temple is called " Lew Logan " in Tibetan. In the centre of it three images of Buddha are kept of which one is said to have been dead, named " Dep Sangoy ", one is alive named " Datey Sangoy ", one is to come named " Chembey Sangoy ". It is made in Tibet by silversmiths of Arts.

CHINA

365. A pair of Chinese vases said to have been presented with ginger to Emperor Aurangzeb by Emperor Kong Hi of China.

From Rai B. A. Gupte Bahadur, Calcutta

366. *Sanad* by the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb (Photograph with translation) conferring a hereditary title of "Raja Mahasai" to Raja Rameswar Rai Mahasai, ancestor of Kshitindra Deb Rai Mahasai of Bansberia, 10 Safar, 1090 Hijri, or 1673 A.D.

367. Publication :—*Selection from the Historical Records of the Hereditary minister of Baroda*, by B. A. Gupte, F.Z.S., M.R.S.A.

From Rai Mani Lall Nahar Bahadur

PAINTINGS

368-72. (1) Emperor Jahangir learning to read. (2) Shah Shuja. (3) Emperor Jahangir consulting with his tutor. (4) Queen Nowshaba (Indo-Persian). Alexander in disguise. (5) Jodha Bai.

MANUSCRIPT

373. *Punya* letter dated 9 June 1798 to Babu Kharg Sing, ancestor of the exhibitor, by C. Bird, Collector.

From Mr. Puran Chand Nahar, M.A., B.L., Calcutta

BOOKS, MANUSCRIPTS, ETC.

374. *Tarikhi Nadiri* by Md. Mahdi Khan Astrabadi, A.H. 1160-A.D. 1747. Illustrated with 4 pictures.

375. Two Jain Scrolls.

376. *Sanad* dated 14th September 1789, granted to Babu Kharg Singh, ancestor of the exhibitor, by C. Bird, Collector.

377. A Persian book printed at the Royal Press Lucknow, before the annexation of Oudh 1239 A.H.

378. *Gita*. Illustrated.

379. *Indian Microcosm* with 21 plates.

PAINTINGS

380—411. (1) Warren Hastings (*Old steel engraving*). (2) Indian Cosmography. (3) Muhammad Shah Rangilay. (4) Durgadas. (5) Wajid Ali Shah (Lucknow). (6) Guru Nanak. (7) Asaf-ud-Daulah. (8) Jahangir and Nur Jahan. (9) Nur Jahan Begam. (10) Muhammadan saints with Muhammad Ghori, etc. (11) Maharaj Ajit Singh. (12) Shah Jahan. (13) Nawab Muqarrab Khan. (14) Nauratan. A unique picture showing the courtiers of Akbar. (15) Rana Pratap. (16) Nana Farnavis (on glass). (17) Ali Guhar (Emperor Shah Alam). (18) Timur. (19) Ahmad Shah. (20) Holi (Hindu Festival). (21) Dewali (Fire Works). (22) Maryam Zamani Begam. (23) A Princess with her attendants in a garden house "Siyah Qalam". (24) Indian Military Review. (25) Mahmud of Ghazni. (26) Nawab Qamaruddin Khan. (27) Ahmad Shah Durrani. (28) Emperor Humayun. (29) Emperor Jahangir. (30) Emperor Shah Jahan and Mumtaz Mahal "Dancing" (Delhi). (31) Zebunnisa, daughter of Emperor Aurangzeb (Delhi). (32) Prithwiraj Chouhan, King of Delhi.

FARMANS

412. (1) Bearing the seal of Emperor Akbar, granted to Bhagwan confirming him in the office of Qanungo for the province of Bengal. Dated 30th September 1591 A.D.

413. (2) Under the seal of Abul Fath Nasiruddin, son of Emperor Muhammad Shah, granted to Sheo Narayan confirming him in the office of Qanungo of the one half of Bengal. Dated 17 Safar. 8 Julus or 5th November 1727 A.D.

From Mr. Prabodh Kumar Das, M.A., B.L., Calcutta

MANUSCRIPTS

414-15. Two Palm Leaf Manuscripts in gold writing of *Bissuddhi Maggo*—a book which can very well be termed the Encyclopædia of Buddhist Ethical doctrines. They were secured by the late Rai Sarat Chandra Das Bahadur, C.I.E., in 1886 from a Buddhist Monastery in Siam.

416. A manuscript recovered from a remote Monastery in Tibet for a long time regarded as lost.

417. Manuscripts of 200 years ago recovered by Rai Sarat Chandra Das Bahadur.

PAINTING

418. A lithographic reproduction of *Bhava Chakra*, that is the various stages through which, according to Buddhist religious teachings, a soul must transmigrate before it can attain Buddhahood or *Nirvana*. The original was brought to India by Rai Sarat Chandra Das Bahadur in 1879 from Tashilhumpo in Tibet. A full description of the Chakra and the connected Buddhist mythology is given in the journals of the Buddhist Text Society.

From Mr. Bahadur Singh Singhi (Calcutta)

WASLIS

419. A petition from Pir Khan to Asaf-ud-Dowlah, Nawab of Oudh, praying for restitution of his forfeited land.

420. A *Wasli* written by the Emperor Bahadur Shah of Delhi.

421. A *Wasli* written by the Emperor Bahadur Shah of Delhi.

422. A *Wasli* in the handwriting of Raushanara Begam (under the pseudonym of "Bandi"), daughter of Emperor Aurangzeb of Delhi.

423. A *Wasli* in the handwriting of Muhammad Azam, son of Emperor Aurangzeb of Delhi.

424. A *Wasli* in the handwriting of Muazuddin Muhammad Jahandar Shah, Emperor of Delhi.

Ihtisham-ud-dawlah Sayid Waris Ali Khan Bahadur Sardar Jung	Seal on the back.

425. A *Wasli* in the handwriting of Muhammad Murad, son of Emperor Shah Jahan of Delhi.

426. A *Wasli* written by Iqbal-ud-dawlah, son of Nawab Sadat Ali Khan of Oudh, in the year of 1250 A.H.

427. A *Wasli* in the handwriting of Ali Naqi Khan, Wazir of Nawab Wajid Ali Shah of Oudh, 1267 A.H.

From Mr. Bahadur Singh Singhi (Calcutta)—*contd.*

WASLIS—*contd.*

428. A *Wasli* in the handwriting of Chandrabhan, who flourished in the time of Akbar the Great, on one side, and of Damaram Haftakalmi on the other side written at the request of Aziz Sambhu Nath.

SANADS, PARWANAS, ETC.

429. A *sanad* bearing the seal of Akbar II, King of Delhi, 10 Safar, 1221 A.H. (19 April 1807 A.D.)

430. A *sanad* bearing the seal of Abdun-Nabi, a minister of Emperor Alamgir, 24 Ramazan, 1080 A.H. (15 February 1670 A.D.)

431. *Parwana* bearing the seal of Hidayatul-lah, Sadrus-Sudur of Emperor Shah Jahan, 10 Jumada II, 1066 A.H. (5 April 1656 A.D.)

432. *Parwana* bearing the seal of Khwaja Mirza, a minister of Emperor Alamgir, 29 Rabi II, 1077 A.H. (29 October 1666 A.D.)

433. *Parwana* bearing the seal of Asad Khan, a minister of Emperor Alamgir, 29 Muharram, 42 Julus (7 August 1690 A.D.)

434. *Parwana* bearing the seal of Saadullah Khan, a minister of Shah Jahan, 14 Jumada II, 30 Julus (9 April 1656 A.D.)

435. *Parwana* bearing the seal of Khwaja Sadiq, a minister of Emperor Alamgir, 9 Jamada I, 3 Julus (10 January 1661 A.D.)

436. *Parwana* bearing the seals of three officials of Dara Shikoh, son of Shah Jahan, 14 Zul-hijjah, 1063 A.H. (5 November 1652 A.D.)

437. *Parwana* bearing the seal of Afzal Khan, a minister of Shah Jahan, 29 Rabi II, 1044 A.H. (22 October 1634 A.D.)

438. *Parwana* bearing the seal of a minister (name illegible) of Emperor Muhammad Shah Alam, 16 Rabi I, 1122 A.H. (15 May 1710 A.D.)

439. *Parwana* bearing the seal of Abdur Rahim, Sadr of Emperor Alamgir, 21 Zul-qadah, 21 Julus (3 February 1678 A.D.)

440. *Parwana* bearing the seal of Salahud-Din, Sadr of Emperor Shah Jahan 9 Shaban, 1068 A.H. (12 May 1658 A.D.)

441. *Parwana* bearing the seals of Asaf Khan and Afzal Khan, ministers of Emperor Shah Jahan, 19 Zul-hijjah, 1039 A.H. (30 July 1630 A.D.)

442. *Parwana* bearing the seal of Saadul-lah Khan, a minister of Shah Jahan, 29 Rabi II, 24 Julus (1 May 1650 A.D.)

443. *Parwana* bearing the seal of Saiyid Ahad Khan Musavi, a minister of Shah Jahan, 2 Julus (1628 A.D.)

444. *Parwana* bearing the seal of Abdus Salam Islam Khan, a minister of Shah Jahan, 17 Julus (1643 A.D.)

From Mr. Bahadur Singh Singhi (Calcutta)—*contd.*

SANADS, PARWANAS, ETC.—*contd.*

445. A congratulatory letter bearing the seal of Mr. N. Benjamin Edmonstone to Saiyid Abul Qasim Khan Bahadur, Tahsildar of Chahar Mahal, District Bareilly, 8 July 1805 A.D.

446. *Farman* bearing the seal of Ghaziud-Din Haidar, King of Lucknow, 15 Rabi II, 1243 A.H. (6 November 1827 A.D.)

PERSIAN MANUSCRIPTS

447. *Qasida* in praise of the Prophet. Bears the seal of Ghazi-ud-Din Haidar King of Oudh.

448. Ms. from the pen of Muhammad Murad.

449. *Qasida* in praise of the King George III of England by the famous poet, Insha of Lucknow.

450. *Jam-i-Abbasi*, a treatise on the rituals of Islam.

451. *Hadis*, bearing the seals of three kings of Oudh.

452-4. (1) *Quran* written by Muhammad-ul-Qatil. 740 A. H. (2) *Quran* written by Muhammad Riza Tabrezi. (3) *Quran* bearing the seal of the Emperor Alamgir.

455. *Panch-Sura*, written by Hafiz Muhammad Masum Ansari.

456. *Tawarikh-i-Kaaba* or *Futuhul Haramain*, written by Ghulam Ali Ansari in Mecca for the Emperor Akbar. 997 A.H.

457. *Qulliat-i-Mulla Subhani* and *Rubaiyat-i-Mulla Subhani*, written by Muhammad Taqi Kirmani. 1066 A.H.

458. In praise of Muhammad Adil Shah.

459. *Assah-ul-Khairat*, written by Faqir Muhammad at Delhi. A fine specimen of various styles of Arabic and Persian calligraphy.

460. *Gul-i-Naoroz* written during the reign of Emperor Jahangir.

SEALS

461-67. (1) A very ancient roller type Phoeincian seal. (2) An ancient Chinese Imperial seal. (3) An ancient Babylonial seal. (4) Seal of Ghazanfar, in the reign of Shah Alam. (5) Seal of Qazim Ali Khan Bahadur, in the reign of Shah Alam. (6) Seal of Muzaffar Ali Khan, in the reign of Shah Alam. (7) Seal of Nur Jahan Begam Safawia.

From Mr. Bahadur Singh Singhi (Calcutta)—*contd.*

PORTRAITS

468-77. (1) Emperor Babar. (2) Emperor Humayun. (3) Birjis Qadr, son of Wajid Ali Shah of Oudh. (4) Raja Rai Singh of Bikaner, contemporary of Emperor Akbar. (5) Raja Gaj Singh of Bikaner. (6) Raja Surat Singh of Bikaner. (7) Raja Sardar Singh of Bikaner. (8) Mirza Jawan Bakht, son of Bahadur Shah, last king of Delhi. (9) Mir Qasim, Nawab of Bengal. (10) Raja Man Singh.

JEWELLERIES

478. A magnificent "Kantha" or necklace consisting of Pearls and *Lalries* with a diamond and emerald pendant. One of the *Lalries* contains the following inscription very finely engraved in Persian "Khurrum Jahangir Shah. 1011".

479. A diamond shaped *Lalri* on which is engraved the following two inscriptions (*a*) "Shah Jahangir ibn Shah Akbar. 1125" (in Arabic). (*b*) "Ahmad Shah Durani" (in Persian).

480. A circular emerald *Takhti*, measuring 1·12 inches in diameter, on which is engraved the whole text of *Ayat-ul-Kursi* with date 1051 Hijri and year 14 of the reign of Emperor Shah Jahan.

481. An emerald seal dated 1178 Hijri of Jagat Sheth Khushal Chand, eldest son of Jagatseth Mahtab Rai, who was put to death by Nawab Mir Qasim.

482. An emerald seal dated 1192 Hijri of Seth Sumer Chand, third son of Jagatseth Mahtab Rai, who was put to death by Nawab Mir Qasim.

483. An emerald seal of Rai Hulash Chand, dated 1269 Hijri. This seal was presented by Emperor Bahadur Shah, the last Emperor of Delhi, together with a Khilat on the occasion of conferring the title of "*Rai*" on the former.

484. A presentation sword with the following inscription engraved on the solid silver fitting of the scabbard : "Presented by The Most Noble The Marquis of Wellesley, Governor General of India to Major Allan, Deputy Quarter Master General of the Army before Seringapatam" (on the one side). "A facsimile of the Mysore War medal—the British lion trampling over the Mysore tiger—with the date 4th May, 1799" (on the other side).

From Mr. Khuda Bakhsh, M.A., B.C.L., Bar-at-Law (Calcutta)

485. A copy of *Diwan-i-Ghalib* transcribed for the poet's friend Nawab Mustafa Khan of Meerut and revised by the poet.

486. A copy of the *Quran* in the handwriting of the famous scribe known as Yaqut-i-Mustasimi.

487. Specimens of Persian Caligraphy in the handwriting of Hafiz Nasrullah Katib-i-zarrin raqam.

488. A copy of *Diwan-i-Hafiz* exquisitely written and illuminated.

489. Autograph of Ghalib.

From Mr. A. M. F. Wahhab

MANUSCRIPTS

490-92. (1) *Diwani-Ghani Kashmiri*, written by Muhammad Shafi Isfahani. 1288 A.H. or 1871 A.D. (2) *Masnavi* of Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi. (3) *Diwani-Wahshi*, written by Muhammad Husain Alawi. 1258 A.H. or 1842 A.D.

From Mr. H. W. B. Moreno (Calcutta)

BOOKS AND MANUSCRIPTS

493. Poems by H. L. V. Derozio, 1827.
494. *The Fakeer of Jungheera, a Metrical tale and other poems*, by H. L. V. Derozio, 1828.
495. Report of Proceedings connected with the East Indians' Petition to Parliament.
496. East Indians' 2nd petition. (Cal. June 27, 1831.)
497. Letter of Lady Anne Thackeray Ritchie, daughter of W. M. Thackeray.

PICTURES

498. Photograph and print of the Building at Calcutta where William Makepeace Thackeray, the novelist, is reputed to have been born.
499. Photograph of the tomb of Richmond Thackeray, father of W. M. Thackeray, the novelist.
500. An original manuscript of William Makepeace Thackeray, the novelist.
501. One of the works of the daughter of Thackeray (Miss Thackeray), the novelist, revised by her father.
502. Original print of the portrait of Henry Louis Vivian Derozio, the Eurasian poet and reformer.

From Mr. K. Bose (Superintendent, Imperial Record Department)

MANUSCRIPTS

503. Kasi Dass's "*Mahabharata*" in Bengali written in old fashioned Bengali character, with palm leaf covers, which has been in his family for several generations.
504. "*Devi Mahatyam.*"—A religious work in Sanskrit, written in Bengali character, several generations old.

From Mr. N. N. Ganguly (Assistant, I.R.D.).

505. PANORAMA OF DACCA (several feet long). A view of old Dacca from the river.

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